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ABSTRACT

This collection papers begins with "Introduction: The Dynamics of Successful Leadership in Foreign Language Programs," then features the following: "The Undergraduate Program: Autonomy and Empowerment" (Wilga M. Rivers); "TA Supervision: Are We Preparing a Future Professoriate?" (Cathy Pons); "Applied Scholarship in Foreign Languages: A Program of Study in Professional Development" (Katherine Arens); "The Dynamics and Visibility of Foreign Language Programs: A Five-Year Survey of the 'Chronicle of Higher Education'" (Francis Lide); "TA Programs; The Fit between Foreign Language Teacher Preparation and Institutional Needs" (Lynn Carbon Gorell and Jorge Cubillos); "The 'Culture and Commerce' of the Foreign Language Textbook: A Preliminary Investigation" (L. Kathy Heilenman and Erwin Tschirner); "The Dynamics of Placement Testing: Implications for Articulation and Program Revision" (Diane W. Birckbichler, Kathryn A. Corl, and Craig Deville); "Identifying and Instructing At-Risk Foreign Language Learners in College" (Richard L. Sparks and Leonore Ganschow); "After the Classroom Visit: A Model for the Preparation of Peer Supervisors" (Robert L. Davis and Joan F. Turner); (Papers contain references.) (SM)

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Issues in Language Program Direction
A Series of Annual Volumes

The Dynamics of Language Program Direction

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David P. Benseler
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The Dynamics of Language Program Direction

David P. Benseler
Editor

American Association of University Supervisors, Coordinators, and Directors of Foreign Language Programs (AAUSC)

Issues in Language Program Direction: A Series of Annual Volumes

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The Dynamics of Language Program Direction

David P. Benseler
Editor

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David P. Benseler
Editor

Introduction: The Dynamics of Successful Leadership in Foreign Language Programs

In the United States few academic disciplines exist in which junior practitioners are asked to assume responsibility for the future directions of particular programs, perhaps even entire professions. Foreign language programs are notable exceptions. New holders of the doctorate, many with backgrounds in a literary field, are often asked by the hiring or employing department to assume responsibility for its language programs. In most instances the sole justifications for such appointments are the new colleagues' young age and the immediacy of their experience (they were themselves TAs until recently). In all such situations, the dynamics of leadership in program direction is critical.

According to Webster's *New Collegiate Dictionary* (1981: p. 352), dynamics "deals with forces and their relation primarily to the motion but sometimes also to the equilibrium of bodies." Thus the focus of the field is "the pattern of change or growth of an object or phenomenon." The open title of the present volume, the fourth in the AAUSC Issues in Language Program Direction series, deliberately conveys the notion that successful language program directors must simultaneously manage and effectively change their programs in a manner that educates both students and practitioners. Substantive change, which is at the core of all successful programs, comes about through that interaction of evolution and leadership we in the field call language program direction.

Wilga M. Rivers argues convincingly for rethinking the nature of language program direction: we must develop a slow but steady approach to change rather than lament the absence of immediate acceptance. Meaningful change begins, she asserts, with vocabulary: "The vocabulary we use about our work is important psychologically, and sets the tone for discussion of future development of the teaching of the language. We must consider ourselves as being *charged with a language program*, of which elementary and intermediate courses are but one part—an important part, certainly, but not the whole. Then we must work to see that the entire language program through to the advanced level develops some coherence, diversity, and relevance in terms of present student and institutional needs."

Recognizing the need for change in the profession, especially in the way we prepare the professoriate of the future, is also central to other contributions in this volume. Cathy Pons decries the current model of TA education, that is, reliance on a workshop and a methods course that focus primarily on preparing the TA to teach an institution's elementary courses. She envisions a multitiered model, one that demands an increase in scope and commitment.

Katherine Arens suggests a new context and rationale for TA education, one that would enable TAs to exercise some degree of control over their own professional development. She also notes that "the dynamics of language program direction must be expanded to include total professional preparation," not just learning how to teach basic courses.

The results of a systematic survey of the *Chronicle of Higher Education* over a five-year period are the foundation of Francis Lide's call for change. He argues that managing professional visibility should be a much greater aspect of the future professoriate's education. Whether future faculty members will have "gratifying careers . . . will depend not only on the quality of their teaching and the productivity of their research, but on the . . . public awareness of that field as worthy of support, and the esteem in which they and the subject they profess are held by society at large and especially by faculty in other disciplines. In short, their career success will depend on the dynamics of the factors that contribute—or fail to contribute—to their visibility."

Lynn Carbón Gorell and Jorge Cubillos take a close look at the orientation courses (preservice workshops) for new teaching assistants at many institutions. Results of a survey conducted by the authors indicate that such programs generally have an "institutionally-specific" mission, that is, they prepare TAs to perform specific teaching tasks for the institution rather than impart to the future professors the theoretical foundations of their chosen discipline and its teaching practices.

Aspiring textbook authors (frequently synonymous with language program directors) should benefit from the latest research interests of L. Kathy

Heilenman and Erwin Tschirner. They note correctly at the outset of their chapter that "the role of foreign language program directors (FLPDs) in the development and publication of materials and textbooks" is seldom discussed in the professional literature. They set out "to examine the context within which foreign language textbooks . . . are produced. Who writes these textbooks? What motivates their authors? Who actually produces the ancillary material (for example, workbooks, computer-assisted instruction[CAI], video, and the like) that accompanies textbooks? How have authors fared from both a professional and a financial point of view? And finally, what kinds of relationships have they established with educational publishers?" Their answers, although preliminary in many respects, are nevertheless quite revealing.

Diane W. Birckbichler, Kathryn A. Corl, and Craig Deville discuss the importance of accuracy in placement for incoming students in the context of the computer-adaptive placement examination used at Ohio State University (OSU). The examination, they assert, has demonstrated its usefulness. It allows information to be collected and analyzed efficiently and preserves that information in a database both for secondary language programs that send students to Ohio State and for the OSU language programs into which incoming students place.

In another of their series of recent essays on disadvantaged learners, Richard L. Sparks and Lenore Ganschow advocate increasing the responsibilities of foreign language program directors. In this instance, directors should also teach their TAs how to recognize and to aid the "at-risk" foreign language learner. Sparks and Ganschow outline a four-step diagnostic process to screen students with foreign language learning problems, and they note some ways the foreign language curriculum might be modified to accommodate these students.

On the other hand, addressing the ever-increasing work load of language program directors, Richard L. Davis and Joan F. Turner have devised a development program for peer supervisors. Utilizing lectures, videotape viewing, role playing, computer tutorials, and discussion, the program prepares individuals to assume supervisory duties, thus enabling program directors to attend to the interminable (mini)crises that seem to occur daily in language programs. Davis and Turner stress "models of supervision, planning the classroom visit, use of a classroom observation instrument and its relationship to effective foreign language teaching, debriefing procedures, and remediation strategies."

Peer supervision is also the subject of the chapter by James F. Lee, Donna Deans Binkowski, and Alex Binkowski. They claim that through direct experience "peer supervision offers the department its best opportunity for preparing a future professoriate." The chapter explores three perspectives (the department's, plus one negative and one positive TA experience) concerning the TAs who supervise TAs.

Change in program direction, teaching method, or the way "things have always been done" is at the core of the chapter by Flore Zéphir and Marie-Magdeleine Chirol. They report reactions to their efforts to make exclusive use of the target language in the program for which they share responsibility. The possible success of their changes rested on taking into account the reactions both of TAs and students.

The desired result of dynamism in language program direction is productive change, the sort that improves the education of the professoriate of the future while tending to the needs of the students enrolled in today's language programs. All of the contributions in this volume provoke thought to that end.

David P. Benseler
Editor
Case Western Reserve University

Part I

Focus on the Department

The Undergraduate Program: Autonomy and Empowerment

Wilga M. Rivers
Harvard University

Program direction has a longer history than we realize, and it is sometimes salutary to consider the experiences of our predecessors. One such was Professor Henry Wadsworth Longfellow of Harvard who as Smith Professor in the Department of Romance Languages and Literatures was language coordinator and program director as early as 1834. Demands were even greater in those days. Professor Longfellow was expected to be highly proficient in four languages: French, German, Italian, and Spanish. The department chair at the time, Professor George Ticknor, insisted that Longfellow spend a considerable amount of time in Europe before taking up his appointment at Harvard to ensure this high level of proficiency. Not only did Longfellow direct programs in these four languages, but he also taught language classes and gave lectures on the texts being studied. He himself taught 115 students of French and 30 students of German, while also supervising and visiting classes in Spanish and Italian. Moreover, he did much materials preparation for French, Spanish, and Italian—writing grammar books and exercise manuals, and putting together books of readings. To make a scholarly contribution to the Cambridge community, he gave public lectures on leading literary figures in the four languages. He visited classrooms and gave evaluations to help his assistants (mostly nonacademic native speakers) improve their teaching, and he was present at the recitations of each student at least once a month (a practice some of his instructors regarded as "espionage"). After six years of this devoted service, he had to suffer the frustration of a faculty committee report in 1840 that spoke of "the deleterious effects of too unrestricted study of modern languages," which "on account of the simplicity of their grammatical structure and the enticing character of many of their productions, is apt to give a distaste for severer and more disciplining studies." It seems that the faculty viewed with alarm the fact that the students were actually enjoying their language studies. Program directors today may empathize with the experiences of this program director of 150 years ago, who was overworked and underappreciated. By 1840 Longfellow, who was not treated as a full member of the faculty—where important decisions were made—was suffering from burnout. Since his wife was a millionaire in her own right, Longfellow decided at this point that the game was not worth the candle and retired to his Cambridge house to write poetry (Johnson, 1944). Not all contemporary stories end so felicitously!

Looking over Longfellow's experiences, we should recognize many familiar features. Even today many of our colleagues within and beyond our departments remain convinced that language classes lack "solid intellectual content"—hence the prevalence of the term "service courses" for the first two years of language study. The work load of those teaching languages is still greater in most institutions than that of colleagues teaching "severer and more disciplining studies." Those directing language programs are still, more often than not, offered appointments at subfaculty level or are sidelined to parallel career tracks of ambiguous status. Isn't it time, surely, that language study should come of age as a fully respected partner of equivalent status with literature, linguistics, and the teaching of culture, with its own appointments at all ranks and autonomy in developing its programs at all levels of undergraduate study? What steps can we take to build prestige and respect for our work, so that its practitioners may be recognized as worthy of the usual rewards and opportunities of the academy?

The Psychological Effects of Terminology

We must cease to consider ourselves, or to refer to ourselves, as directors, coordinators, or supervisors of "elementary and intermediate" language courses (sometimes just of "elementary language courses," which many faculty colleagues think of as being the province of high school), of "basic courses," or worse yet, of "service courses." We also do not help our situation by adopting the term "language training" for our work, since it encourages us and others to regard that work as merely technical or preliminary—training for some more important activity—and therefore something that presumably any speaker of the language, without special intellectual preparation, or a colleague from another field, can do just as well as a specialized professional. The concept of "training" also ignores the interaction of teaching and student learning. Our students' motivation, aptitude, and willingness to expend personal effort ultimately determine the level of proficiency they will achieve.

The vocabulary we use about our work is important psychologically, and sets the tone for discussion of future development of the teaching of the language. We must consider ourselves as being *charged with a language program,* of which elementary and intermediate courses are but one part—an important part, certainly, but not the whole. Then we must work to see that the entire language program through to the advanced level develops some coherence, diversity, and relevance in terms of present student and institutional needs. Even if, in a particular setting, we are still limited on appointment to directing the first- and second-year courses, we must see ourselves as creating the framework for further development of the program, setting our sights on a future stage when language courses, through to the most advanced level, will form one strong and purposeful sequence. If we work well, building up our colleagues' confidence in our abilities and expertise and their trust in our leadership, we will often find the department willing, eventually, to extend our mandate, in part because our literary and linguistic colleagues, quite naturally, would rather be spending their time teaching courses in their own fields. They are often relieved to find someone who is capable of and really enjoys developing the advanced courses, especially as such development leads to more and better equipped majors for their own specialized areas.

Purposeful Course Design

We must not limit our perspective to the task of developing a level of proficiency for something unspecified. In the federal agencies, from whose work the American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages (ACTFL) *Proficiency Guidelines* (1986) were developed, levels of proficiency are related to actual job descriptions, and learners are well aware that they need to attain a specified level of proficiency in a particular skill (and sometimes a different level for another) if they are to receive the appointment they are seeking. We are teaching languages in a college or university setting as an integral part of education in the humanities, or science, or business. Carpentry apprentices learn more than how to saw wood, to hammer nails, or to dovetail joints: they learn these things in order to make cabinets, build houses, or repair roofs. Within our language program we must carefully consider the ends for which we are preparing students (their ends, ultimately), planning content accordingly, and giving the students many opportunities to develop the level of proficiency they need in both the content area and the language. Serious content in language courses is of great importance as part of the general education of the students, as well as for motivational reasons. As Benseler (1991: p. 190) observes, we expect instructors in language courses "to add strong elements of intellectual rigor and challenge by enhancing literacy and the appreciation of literature, adding to student knowledge of the target culture (a comprehensive term) and its people, and contributing to the general education of students who populate them, whether major or non-major."

Our decisions regarding course design may mean involving other departments in developing content to help students achieve educational and professional objectives satisfying to them. We are not experts in every field: we draw in experts to help us. The experiments with content-based instruction at Earlham (Jurasek, 1988), St. Olaf (Allen, Anderson & Narváez, 1992), Brown (Rivers, 1992: p. 24), and Binghamton (Badger, Rose & Straight, 1993) can teach us much in this regard. "Interdisciplinarity" is today's watchword, and we must become adept at networking to ensure access for the student to the best of all possible educations.

Language Teaching and Culture Specialists

We need a proper title for fully qualified personnel in our field, to distinguish them from the many pinch hitters from tangential areas of study who are, often reluctantly, put in charge of language programs. A new professional title for those who are trained to direct programs helps us to see ourselves, and others to see us, as more than just "service" personnel who are easily replaceable. A suitable title for fully prepared language personnel would be language teaching and culture specialists (LTCS's), as I suggested in 1992 (pp. 295–312). We can then work to see that positions in our departments in the future are filled by persons with the requisite preparation as LTCS's. Specialists have a high level of professional expertise for performing specific tasks—a professional preparation that enables them to keep up with a field of knowledge and an area of research in which they are expected to show leadership and, in academic contexts, to publish. We can then encourage our departments when advertising positions to make clear that they are seeking thoroughly qualified LTCS's and that any less-qualified appointees will be expected to devote the requisite time and energy to acquiring professional preparation at an appropriate level. If we learn to respect ourselves, others will learn to respect us.

Planning a Long Sequence

Just being empowered by a name and a field is not enough. *We must be seen to be doing interesting and worthwhile things in our program.* We must work toward a planned long sequence of language courses at the college level that is imaginative in design and wide ranging in appeal, and which students perceive as related to their needs in the twenty-first century. After a careful analysis of foreign language curricular problems at the undergraduate level, Benseler (1991: p. 181) concludes that "the upper division curriculum in foreign languages and literatures qualifies for designation as the most neglected area of our entire enterprise." For too long the bulk of our efforts has been devoted to repeating over and over again elementary and intermediate courses that leave students with a certain foundational knowledge and a shallow level of proficiency, which rapidly evaporate because they are not yet usable in wider contexts. We know that through use even a fragile grasp of the language will develop and become consolidated, but what we leave students with is too often insufficient for this consolidation to occur without some immediate cultivation. A well-designed period of study abroad can act as a consolidator and whet students' appetites for more, but not all students can afford this experience.[1]

If we offer within our departments a planned and graduated sequence of courses through to the advanced level, one that provides opportunities for students to progress, if they wish, to a Superior Level of proficiency on the ACTFL Oral Proficiency Scale, incoming students will be able to integrate themselves into the sequence at the level at which they feel comfortable.[2] We thus valorize their previous high school experiences, variable as these necessarily are. Unfortunately, in too many institutions previous study is denigrated or merely ignored. Byrnes (1990: p. 289) considers the practice of placing students who have had previous instruction into beginners classes to be "not only devastating from the standpoint of learner motivation and, thus, educationally totally unsound," but also "fiscally irresponsible." With a well-developed long sequence of courses with different contents, calibrated to a scale of increasing proficiency, we can, with patience and encouragement, integrate all incoming students into study at an appropriate level that will not only maintain and develop their ability to use the language, but increase their enjoyment of language study. A sequence of increasingly more demanding language courses equivalent to eight or nine years of language study (16 or 18 semester levels) can be a viable objective in a large department, offering students real options in terms of the level of proficiency and of the content area they seek. Smaller colleges with a more restricted student body and fewer faculty will inevitably have to set their sights less high, while building on the entrance strengths of their particular constituency.

Swaffar (1990: p. 32) points out that one of the problems facing students who wish to continue language study at a level appropriate to their previous experience is the curricular shift from the high school emphasis on "self-expression in casual conversation, factual reports, and describing familiar people, places, and events" to "narrowly defined linguistic expectations" or unfamiliar learning styles. She feels that high school students who would like to advance further in a language would fit more easily into upper-division programs that emphasize literature as part of cultural values, with multimedia options and a thematic rather than a period emphasis, providing for pragmatic use of language in a variety of content courses—for example, culture tracks, language study keyed to particular careers, or study abroad (p. 46).

When we address the question of a sequence of courses at the advanced level, centered on students' interests and needs rather than on some traditional set of compartmentalized skills (review of grammar, pronunciation exercises, and advanced composition, or "comp-and-con"), many of our colleagues protest that we are proposing the impossible. This has not been found to be the case where such a program has been tried. Fortunately, we can group students' interests and needs into categories and design courses that meet aesthetic, pragmatic, professional, cross-cultural, or intra- and intercommunity needs, linking diverse fields. Rivers (1992: pp. 7–18, 21–33) makes suggestions for several diversified courses at the elementary level (providing for different learning preferences and interests), 16 highly varied courses for the intermediate level, and more than 20 possibilities for the advanced level. Naturally, not all of these courses will be appropriate in the particular context of every institution; departments may select among these and other possible courses of their own invention. These suggestions are intended to spark the imagination of program directors. Once the idea takes root that language learning can take place while discussing and analyzing subject matter, engaging in diverse activities, and incorporating any type of media assistance (film, video, tape, laser disc, television, computerized materials), a concerned and dedicated teaching team will soon come forward with their own innovative course proposals.

The proposed sequence must be coherent within the context of a particular college or university, that is, it must take into account the linguistic, institutional, and regional needs in a local situation. These may be determined in part by the ethnic composition of the college body or the local area; the established aims of the institution, whether as a four-year or community college or a large research-oriented university; the occupational opportunities open to the students (see Rivers, 1993) or provided by the faculties and schools within the institution; and the way in which the institution can best serve the surrounding community. In this sense, *no program can be borrowed:* each must be tailored to its particular setting. James (1989), for instance, describes a well-articulated advanced language program geared to the humanistic and literary aims of her department. This may be the way to start for other institutions as they bide their time for a favorable climate to develop for further diversification.

In order for a sequence of advanced courses to be maximally useful, *there needs to be some kind of placement device,* not just for requirement purposes, but for placement at all levels of the undergraduate program. The language courses offered must be clearly cross-indexed in relation to levels of the placement device, so that students can easily recognize which courses are appropriate at their present stage of development. In a program sequenced and articulated in this way, students are motivated to continue with language study as they are able. They may also return to it after a pause if they are anxious to have the consolidating benefits of further study, integrating at that time into a level where they can progress beyond what they had previously achieved. In a well-designed sequential program, students continue for as long as they perceive the study to be of utility or interest to them.

Wherritt, Druva-Roush, and Moore (1991) report on the Foreign Language Assessment Project (FLAP) at the University of Iowa, which developed a placement device and was integrated with incentives for attempting courses at higher levels (Foreign Language Incentives Project, or FLIP). They found that larger numbers of entering students enrolled in upper-division courses when they were carefully tested for level of proficiency by means of a carefully constructed test that had been developed in consultation with high school teachers. Although some faculty had misgivings at first, "course instructors who had taught in the program for more than one year indicated that there were no discernible differences in the background skills of students placed by the FLAP tests and those of students from previous years placed by other criteria [usually completion of a previous course at the University of Iowa]" (p. 91). It is encouraging that, as a consequence, more students at the University of Iowa "are opting to continue study beyond the two year requirement" (p. 90). The FLAP and FLIP initiatives are worth study by other institutions that are looking for a place to start on encouraging students to enter at different levels of a long sequence.

Student Reaction to a Well-Designed Program

If the program is coherent, well-designed, and well taught, students become aware of it, even if the faculty at large and the department faculty remain uninterested. News of opportunities and successes travels by word of mouth and students vote with their feet and with their evaluations. *The Harvard Assessment Seminars Second Report* (1992) bears this truth out. In 1986 the president of Harvard University, Derek Bok, established a long-term program of assessment for the improvement of the college's educational programs. More than 100 faculty members and administrators met with colleagues from two dozen other universities and colleges to determine, and learn from, what Harvard students and alumni/alumnae thought about their educational experience. The views of large numbers of present undergraduates and alumni/alumnae were sampled via questionnaires and interviews (for foreign languages, from the years 1978, 1980, 1983, and 1990). The *Second Report* comes up with what it refers to as an "unexpected finding" that "foreign languages and literatures are the most widely appreciated courses" in the college (p. 11). The director of the project, Richard Light (1992: p. 5), had "expected many undergraduates to characterize work in foreign languages and literatures as requirements to be gotten out of the way." "In fact," he notes, "hardly any do this. Students talk about language classes with special enthusiasm. Many rate them among the best of all their classes. Alumni agree, and strongly. When asked why, both groups point to the way these classes are organized and taught."

During the period when the students surveyed were studying languages at Harvard, all graduate student teaching fellows, part-time teaching assistants, and exchange students were given extensive instruction in their first year about how to conduct their courses, with preteaching orientation, a full-credit methods course, a practicum on teaching techniques, videotaping, classroom supervisory visits, and weekly course heads' meetings to discuss the ongoing course and the testing program. Opportunities were provided in subsequent years for them to develop the content of some courses according to their own interests and talents and to act as course heads themselves where this was feasible. They received preparation in interactive teaching with much student participation and small group work, as well as in ways of incorporating into their classes film, video, a variety of taped materials, computerized aids to learning, and realia. They were encouraged to involve their students in language use out of the classroom where possible, and to invite native speakers into their classes to interact with their students. The students they taught received constant feedback on their progress and personal help through instructors' office hours and a departmental clinic to which they could be referred for special help with pronunciation, writing, or any other problems. From the beginning they were taught to express themselves freely in the language, both in speech and in writing. The young instructors also read about and discussed ways of teaching literature, and graduate students who had gone through the development program conducted and coordinated many literature sections, both in the core program of the college and in departmental courses. The language courses were expanded to form a long sequence (18 semester offerings of advancing difficulty in French, for instance; 15 in Spanish), with provision for different learning styles, options in course content ranging from literature to film, cultural studies, case studies for business, advanced translation, and oral and written debate and discussion. The evolution of the program was closely related to expressed student concern and interest (through course evaluations and questionnaires), and graduate student instructors were encouraged to initiate and experiment with course innovations.

To quote further from Light's (1992: p. 11) report, we are told the students enjoy these courses "enormously." "They also rate the workload as equally enormous," yet they "give these classes higher praise than any other subject or courses categories, except small tutorials. And they give clear reasons why they appreciate these classes so much. The reasons have to do with the way language classes are structured and taught. Alumni are even more fervent. When asked to give advice to undergraduates, nearly all [actually, 94%] urge more intense study of both foreign languages and literatures. Many suggest programs to incorporate such classes as part of each student's study plan." Although Light confesses to a search for "mysterious and inexplicable reasons" for the findings (p. 11), it seems that the explanation was there to be observed by those who would come and see what was taking place in the language departments. Quality of teaching and interesting course content pay off.

At present, students are eager for more language study, not only in Europe, Asia, and Africa, but even in the United States. Evening classes are full of adults seeking to make up for lost or neglected opportunities. Enrollments are on the increase, particularly in languages that the students consider to be of importance for their future. There is a rising interest in humanistic studies, and language courses have much to provide in that area. Where there is a well-conceived program that they see as relevant to their needs, students will come to language classes and stay in them. Promise and talk will not deceive them, however; they must see in place and experience a program that delivers.

The Politics of Transforming a Program

As we contemplate redesigning or transforming a traditional program, we have a choice between the "new broom" approach or "nibbling around the edges." Should we strive for a position of control where we can impose a blueprint for a radically different program or should we be satisfied with gradual progress, making a few changes here and there, adding and subtracting, until we slowly reshape the whole?

In an established program, a number of people have beloved bailiwicks (even fiefdoms) of which they are very proud; others are nervous about a new administrator "breathing down their necks"; and still others fear and may even resent changes they see as creating extra work for them. New brooms may sweep clean in the practical world of housekeeping, but metaphorical new brooms tend to rouse hostilities; colleagues feel that their tried-and-true approaches are under attack and, to vary the metaphor, they sometimes combine behind a wall of shields. Unfortunately, as a consequence of too much brash enthusiasm and impatience on the part of the new program director, the cooperation of colleagues who feel threatened may be lost forever. We need a more tactical approach.

With a new appointment or position of responsibility, we have time to "play it cool." We can afford an initial period—Lee and VanPatten (1990: pp.121–22) suggest the entire first year of appointment—to get to know people, to observe what is being done, to show appreciation for good work, to compliment and inquire in a friendly way; to give our colleagues the opportunity to know us and understand our way of looking at things, while we spread around in general discussion a few of our own ideas in an unthreatening way. An initial period of this type will pay enormous dividends in goodwill and protect the newcomer from serious errors of judgment through lack of knowledge of past developments and existing internal networks.

In this period we lay the groundwork for our "nibbling around the edges" approach. The ideas we have shared in discussion circulate, stimulate discussion, and begin to come back to us as concrete proposals for change—proposals that come from those who will be involved in their implementation and that they rightly see as their own. We then assist them in working out the practical applications of what are now *their* ideas, their "babies," of which they are very proud. With a few modifications here, an innovation there, change begins to take place, with those involved in this change hardly noticing the direction of the change, while themselves feeling that they are the initiators of progress. As leaders, we must be secure and mature enough not to feel threatened by the success of our colleagues, or to feel the need for personal attribution and accolades. We encourage demonstration in pilot projects of the kinds of ideas we have been sowing about, so that the results can be observed, talking appreciatively and informatively about what is being done so that others take note, allowing students' reactions to innovations to penetrate, and waiting for still others to offer to try these new ideas or techniques. When they begin to do so, we make ourselves available with assistance that is now welcomed and even sought out.

Responsibilities of the Administrator

Scheduling, budgeting, monitoring the testing system, attending to student problems and bureaucratic hassles, and other organizational duties must be performed efficiently (which means almost invisibly). The first responsibility of the administrator, however, not the last, is the development of the potentialities and expertise of the team. The leader is the facilitator for the success of others:

1. We provide expert orientation and professional development for all new instructors, but we also help our more established team members to gain further knowledge or professional preparation where necessary, informing them of available resources and means of support.
2. We keep them informed about developments in the field and where to find out about new trends.

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3. We help them to think through their problems from an informed viewpoint, always supporting them when they need our help.
4. We assist them in implementation of their ideas for course design, new techniques, or materials development, without feeling threatened when they go further than we do in innovation or modernization.
5. We make sure that their successes become known within the department and across the college (through departmental bulletins, newsletters of centers for faculty development or improvement of teaching, student and administration news outlets, and alumni bulletins), as seems strategically appropriate.
6. We encourage them to make public presentations of their ideas and initiatives (sometimes for the first time) locally, regionally, nationally, and internationally. We inform them of opportunities of which they may not be aware to present their ideas in wider circles, helping to launch them until they are flying on their own.
7. We help them write about their work, their research, or their ideas for new developments, advising through the initial stages of their projects, reading early drafts and suggesting improvements; later, we help them find outlets.
8. We guide them in developing and implementing research projects, in writing grant proposals, and in searching for sources of funding.

In brief, we put the members of our team on the map. The successes of the members of the team bring rewards and respect to its director.

When instructors are enthusiastic and empowered to do interesting and innovative things, to work together to create a program, students are enthusiastic, the department (even if sluggishly and belatedly) becomes enthusiastic, or at least sympathetic and cooperative, and we have a program of which all can be proud.

Ultimately our strength is in student satisfaction and team loyalty and cooperation—these are the oil for the wheels of our enterprise, which now has a momentum of its own. At this point we can relax and enjoy.

Notes

1. For research into the effects of study abroad programs, see Weaver (1989).
2. For a full explanation of the ACTFL Proficiency Guidelines and Levels, see Byrnes and Canale (1987).

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Part II

Expanding the Horizons of TA Development Programs

TA Supervision: Are We Preparing a Future Professoriate?

Cathy R. Pons
Indiana University

Recently a colleague and I conducted a mock interview for one of our doctoral candidates involved in a job search. We based the interview on an actual job description from the job list published by the Modern Language Association. The advertisement specified a need for a native or near-native speaker specialist in French linguistics with a background in second language acquisition, an excellent teaching record, and the ability to teach courses in literature and culture. During the interview we asked the candidate how she might structure an introductory course in French linguistics at the undergraduate level, or a literature course, or a culture course. Her answers to these questions were less than satisfactory, and she admitted afterward that she had been taken by surprise by this line of questioning. The 20 or so graduate students who observed the interview echoed her surprise, asking how they could talk about designs for these types of courses if they had never had the opportunity to teach them.

One of the major responsibilities of language program directors in large universities is the development and supervision of graduate teaching assistants (TAs). These assistants are generally enrolled in Master's degree and doctoral programs in literature or linguistics and plan a career in their chosen field. They are typically inexperienced as teachers and vary in the degree of motivation they bring to the task of elementary language instruction. While some are enthusiastic, others see teaching merely as a means of subsidizing their education and are certain that they will never again teach in the language classroom once their diploma is in hand. Recent research, however, points to an increasing demand for faculty who are committed to a career of teaching language and culture (Devens, 1986; Elling, 1988).

Changing Needs in the Profession

In 1983 the Modern Language Association (MLA) established a Commission on Foreign Languages, Literatures, and Linguistics. Elling (1988), reporting on a survey conducted under the auspices of the commission, shows that fewer Ph.D.'s are being awarded at a time when 30 states have imposed some form of foreign language requirement for graduation. However, at the same time that interest in and demand for foreign languages is rising, retirements will severely diminish the ranks of the field's established scholars and teachers. As a result, the MLA (Elling, 1988: p. 14) found evidence to suggest "that departments have radically changed their views on what graduate students should be prepared for." This includes: "the recognition on the part of many departments that most of their PhDs would spend most of their careers teaching language and general culture, and not their more narrow fields of literary or linguistic specialization; and . . . the decision by many departments to shoulder the responsibility of preparing their PhD students better for these tasks by providing broader academic training, placing greater emphasis on oral proficiency, and offering more extensive training in language teaching."

Close examination of job lists published by the MLA and the Linguistic Society of America does, in fact, reveal that few new Ph.D.'s can expect to limit their teaching to their chosen speciality. Many ads include a statement to the effect that "interest in and ability to teach courses outside of the candidate's specialty" is seen as "very desirable." Other ads speak of a "commitment to teaching at the undergraduate level" and likewise list course and topics outside of the advertised specialization.

Qualifications of Foreign Language Professionals and Goals of TA Development Programs

One cannot discuss the necessary qualifications for foreign language professionals without first defining the goals of foreign language instruction at the college or university level. If one agrees with Kramsch (1987: p. viii) that "the main purpose of learning a foreign language in an institutional setting is to become communicatively proficient in the language, to gain

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insights into the symbolic and the communicative functions of language and to develop cultural awareness and cross-cultural understanding," then faculty who are centrally involved in the planning and delivery of foreign language instruction must exhibit competence in a number of areas:

> *Near-Native Mastery of the Target Language.* In some respects, the language instructor's level of mastery of the target language must exceed that of the average native speaker. The instructor must, for example, exhibit productive control of the most prestigious variety of that language, where one exists, and demonstrate receptive control of a broader linguistic repertoire that includes sociolinguistic and dialectal variants.
>
> *Intimate Knowledge of the Sociocultural Context(s) in Which the Target Language Is Spoken.* For the most commonly taught foreign languages spoken as vernaculars in several countries and which serve as languages of wider communication, a certain level of familiarity with several cultures is required. For example, an instructor of French must display a level of knowledge about France, Belgium, Switzerland, Quebec, Louisiana, the Caribbean, the Maghreb, and sub-Sarahan African countries that far exceeds that of the average educated French person and that includes knowledge of the history and literature of these communities.
>
> *Broad Background in Applied Linguistics.* Background in the language sciences serves to impart general metalinguistic and metacommunicative awareness. This preparation should include socio- and psycholinguistics as well as descriptive study of the target language. Attention should be devoted to structure beyond the sentence level, that is, to discourse structure and pragmatics.
>
> *Knowledge of Didactics.* An interdisciplinary approach to problems of instruction will include principles of educational psychology and research in the areas of foreign language learning and research on learning. The instructor should be aware of issues and teaching methodology and familiar with currently available instructional materials, including technological aids.

These goals are ambitious and represent a long-term commitment to professional development on the part of the individual. Nevertheless, adequate preparation for teaching a foreign language must, at the very least, address each of these issues. In addition, if we view the TA development program as the basis for future professional development, we should also have the following goals: 1) developing an awareness of professional issues;

> relation to the learning process. Although a focus on training answers the immediate needs of institutions dedicated to mass education, it fails to meet the requirements of long-range professional development, which is the proper goal of the education of graduate-student instructors. In a truly educational process the new TA should learn to inquire into the justification of those techniques, activities and practices; into the ways they relate to the development of language proficiency; and into the cultural and philosophical rationale behind the aims of foreign language education and the means of achieving those ends.

Other writers who express similar concerns include Hagiwara (1976, 1977), Ryder (1976), Elling (1988), and Murphy (1991).

The other category of literature on TA development programs identifies such programs almost exclusively with pedagogical issues and focuses on preparing TAs during their first year of graduate studies to teach elementary-level language courses. The model most often proposed involves a preservice workshop followed by a quarter- or semester-long methods course. The literature tends to describe successful programs that are already in place, to analyze a particular phase of development programs, or to describe specific methods courses, and is represented by Barnett (1983), DiDonato (1983), Freed (1975), Knop and Herron (1982), Nerenz, Herron, and Knop (1979), Rava (1987), and Rogers (1987).

A number of writers—Ervin and Muyskens (1982), Knop and Herron (1982), Magnan (1990), Rivers (1983), and Schulz (1980)—have advocated using a needs assessment survey as a basis for designing development programs, and have surveyed TAs, faculty who work closely with TAs, or college and university faculty in general. The results of such surveys, particularly of those whose respondents are the TAs themselves, reveal an emphasis on practical topics and immediate needs. Ervin and Muyskens (1982), for example, found that their subjects gave top priority to: 1) "learning practical techniques and methods"; 2) "teaching the four skills"; 3) "teaching conversation, getting the students to talk"; and 4) "making the class interesting." These results are entirely as one might expect: inexperienced TAs who are given full responsibility for one or more sections of a course need to know right away how to present grammar, provide appropriate oral practice, correct errors, and so on.

Current development programs tend to do a good job of meeting TAs' immediate needs, but do they prepare these future faculty members to evaluate recent research, design a variety of courses, make decisions about the nature of the undergraduate curriculum, and evaluate teaching effective-

2) developing an ability to evaluate research claims and curricular models, rather than hastily jumping on bandwagons; and 3) cultivating a repertoire of techniques for evaluating teaching, including self-assessment, student evaluation, and peer evaluation.

Existing TA Development Programs

Previous surveys (Schulz, 1980; Devens & Bennett, 1986) tell us that development programs are far from universal or uniform. The MLA commission found that only 37% of departments surveyed require a course in the methods of language teaching. Only 9% percent of departments list contemporary culture and civilization as a required course category. Although most departments emphasize literature in their upper-division courses, only 5% of them consider preparation in the *teaching* of literature important. Linguistics is required by 29% but applied linguistics by only 8% of all departments surveyed, despite the push toward a proficiency-based curriculum (Elling, 1988: pp. 45–46). Indeed, it appears that some faculty are quite resistant to the idea of TA development programs: Koop (1991), reporting the results of a survey of 76 professors of French culture and civilization, indicates that 16% of respondents did not agree that Ph.D. candidates should be required to take at least one course in the pedagogy of French. Twenty-four percent were also against requiring at least one course in the pedagogy of the candidate's specialty.

Literature on TA Development Programs: Two Models

Over the past 20 years or so, a small body of literature has developed on how TA development programs should be structured. As Fox (1992) describes it, this literature tends to fall into two categories. The first category places TA development programs within the framework of a general preparation to enter the profession. These authors recommend that graduate schools require work in the principles of language teaching as well as in the principles of linguistic analysis, cultural analysis, and the presentation of literature. Some, such as Azevedo (1990: p. 27), distinguish between TA "training" and TA "education":

> Whereas training facilitates the effective use of certain techniques and materials, it may rely too much on rote learning, minimizing analysis of their theoretical presuppositions and implications and thus reducing teaching to the application of formulas without consideration of their

ness? We have some indication that they do not, even where extensive development programs exist.

In a report on a survey completed by 42 language program directors in French, German, and Spanish at 14 large public institutions, Magnan (1990) indicated that only four considered their current development programs—defined as orientation, a methods course or courses, plus staff meetings—adequate for preparing TAs to teach second-year courses.

Why does our current model of TA development seem to have such a limited scope? Certainly, it is not due to a lack of conviction on the part of language program directors that a broader kind of professional development is needed. Rather, it can be seen as a result of two factors: one, the impracticality of implementing the broad recommendations made in some of the studies cited; and two, the prevailing attitude in the academy toward teaching. The kind of comprehensive development programs proposed by Elling (1988), Hagiwara (1976, 1977), and others would potentially entail hiring additional faculty, specialists in applied linguistics and/or culture studies, while reducing the number of courses a student could take within his or her own discipline. At the same time, advocates of TA development are up against a system that often does not assign teaching a high priority. It is no secret, as Dvorak (1986), Valdman and Pons (1988), and Lee and VanPatten (1991) have pointed out, that TA supervisors and language program directors are often regarded as second-class citizens in foreign language departments; the current trend toward moving such positions out of the professorial rank, as noted by Lalande (1991b), is evidence that these negative attitudes persist. The rigid time constraints imposed on the development process have made it imperative that faculty provide TAs with the tools they need to meet their immediate responsibilities; further preparation is seen as mere "lagniappe," to use a Louisiana French expression.

To overcome the obstacle to better preparation that negative attitudes pose, Valdman and Pons (1988: p. 87) suggest that faculty who supervise language instruction and work with prospective teachers should be expected to pursue a research program in their discipline, while attaining a degree of professional competence in all areas of qualification demanded by their specific instructional tasks and responsibilities. Ideally, their research program would span disciplinary and instructional interests, and the results of their research would inform language instruction. Valdman and Pons point out that a model for this relationship between professional responsibilities and disciplinary research interests is provided by the field of TESOL. Most professionals in that field have backgrounds in applied linguistics, with specializations in linguistics, psycholinguistics, or sociolinguistics. They have contributed significantly to theory construction in the area of language learning and to the description of English and the understanding of how that language functions in various societies. At least half a dozen major journals provide outlets for research related to the professional interests of specialists in second language learning and use. As Valdman and Pons (1988: p. 87) state, the time has come for "foreign language departments to follow the lead of ESL programs."

Recommendations for Improved Development Programs

Faced with the current constraints, how do we prepare a future professoriate to fulfill multifaceted roles as teachers, researchers, and administrators? Very recently, some recommendations have been made with the goal of enlarging the scope of what has become "traditional" TA preparation. First, one might broaden the scope of the methods course itself. Fox (1992: pp. 203–4) recommends modifying existing programs to include linguistic training, developing a model that integrates knowledge and beliefs about language with language teaching practices, thus obtaining a better fit between theories of language and language learning, on the one hand, and classroom practices, on the other. Waldinger (1990) and Rivers (1983) advocate, as Rivers (p. 25) describes,

> a more wide-ranging course in methods of teaching languages, literatures, and cultures, where students debate the theoretical underpinnings, rationale, and practical applications of many approaches and many aspects of their task. Through a cooperative, supervised apprenticeship where they are involved in course development, teaching, and testing, they prepare to try their wings in developing courses to meet special interests of students at various levels.

Such goals for the graduate methods course are, at the very least, ambitious. It is not surprising, then, that other writers—Magnan (1990), Lalande (1991a), and Arens (1991)—see the need for an "advanced" methods course to address specific needs. Arens, for example, describes a "professional development seminar" designed to prepare TAs to use interdisciplinary methods to teach culture. These writers, and others such as Pons (1987) and Lee (1989, 1990), have advocated what can be described as a "multitiered model" of TA development programs, intended to take instructors along a progression from practice to theory.

From Practice to Theory

One such multitiered program exists at Indiana University in the Department of French and Italian. Each element of the program is described below and the entire sequence is illustrated by Figure 1.

1. *Preservice Workshop* (Workshop 1). The development program begins with a two-week preservice workshop for all new TAs. The goal of this workshop is to meet the immediate needs of instructors who may never have taught before, as well as the needs of foreign exchange students who may have no experience in an American university. Discussions thus focus on organization and preparation, teaching techniques, departmental and university policies, and student–teacher relations. Innovative features of the program include the use of videotapes made during actual classes to illustrate teaching techniques as well as typical student behavior and teacher reactions; the use of assignments to review and confirm understanding of key concepts; a "shock" language learning session in which TAs learn an exotic language (Haitian Creole) and reflect on the language learning experience; and an opportunity to prepare a lesson and teach it to a group of actual first-semester students in a program called "Headstart in French/Italian."

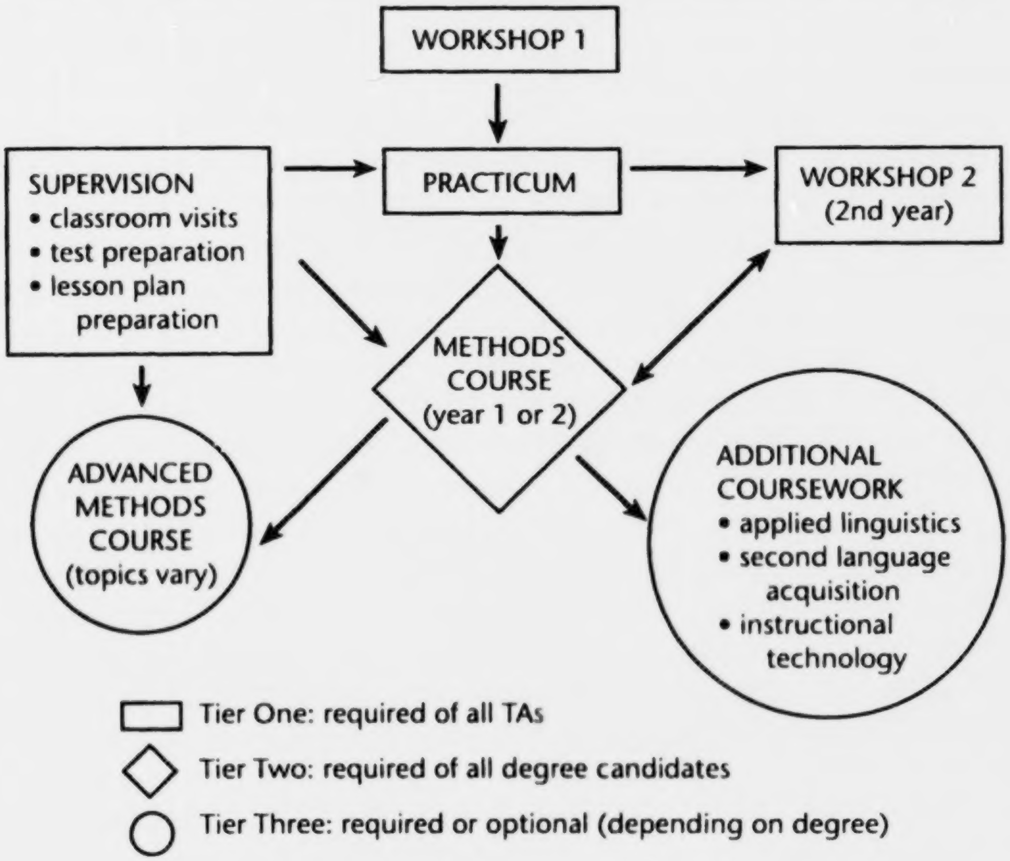
2. *Practicum.* The workshop is followed by a semester-long practicum that is required of all new instructors and that carries graduate credit. Organized around a series of focused classroom observations, it is designed to help instructors identify a variety of teaching techniques and evaluate the effectiveness of those techniques. Topics such as error correction, language skill development, and student–instructor rapport are treated.

3. *Methods Course.* The basic methods course, required of all degree candidates, may be taken in the first or second year of graduate studies. The course is designed to provide a broad overview of professional issues, to introduce some theories of language and language learning, and to promote acquisition of a repertoire of techniques for evaluating teaching. This introduction is designed to make TAs aware of issues and areas of research and to encourage them to complete related course work in applied linguistics and second language acquisition.

4. *Supervision.* Further development is provided with concurrent teaching through classroom visits made by the TA's course supervisor and through group preparation of common exams and lesson plans.

Figure 1

A Multitiered Model of TA Training and Supervision


WORKSHOP 1
SUPERVISION
• classroom visits
• test preparation
• lesson plan preparation
PRACTICUM
WORKSHOP 2 (2nd year)
METHODS COURSE (year 1 or 2)
ADVANCED METHODS COURSE (topics vary)
ADDITIONAL COURSEWORK
• applied linguistics
• second language acquisition
• instructional technology
Tier One: required of all TAs
Tier Two: required of all degree candidates
Tier Three: required or optional (depending on degree)

The large majority of graduate programs provide no opportunities for professional development beyond the first year of the assistantship. In this multitiered model, however, opportunity exists for additional instructional preparation.

5. *In-Service Workshop* (Workshop 2). A workshop for more advanced TAs focuses on teaching intermediate courses. Here problems of articulation are addressed, such as bridging from elementary to intermediate level and preparing students for content-based courses in literature and culture.

6. *Advanced Methods Course.* The final element in this multitiered program is an advanced methods course, which serves to treat more specialized

topics. A recently offered course called "Classroom Foreign Language Learning Research" allowed students to critique some of the recent research on French and to conduct classroom research on their own. As the major course project, students replicated two previous studies in the classroom acquisition of French. The course drew students from the master's and doctoral programs in French, as well as students from the Department of Applied Linguistics. Other advanced methods topics under development include one on course and curricular design and another on methods of teaching culture.

Additionally, advanced graduate students may pursue other opportunities for increased preparation for instruction.

Peer observation groups, using a model described by Barnett (1983), have been used with some success among self-selected groups of instructors, who gain additional insight into their own and others' teaching through this procedure; these instructors have received background in techniques for providing formative evaluations of teaching. Particularly effective has been the pairing of experienced instructors with novices. Senior instructors thus provide guidance for new graduate students in a nonthreatening manner and gain useful experience in providing formative evaluations.

The department's Undergraduate Curriculum Committee includes each year two members who are graduate TAs. These student members participate fully in discussion and voting, thereby gaining insight into the process of curriculum planning.

Exchange positions provide instructors with a cultural immersion experience and the opportunity to perfect language skills while teaching in a French secondary school or in a French or Quebecois university. Unfortunately, exchangees are often asked to teach a variety of English language courses, a duty for which they are ill-prepared. Much preferable would be the utilization of exchangees in new programs in France teaching French as a foreign language.

Advanced graduate students may serve as assistants to course supervisors. These assistants participate in the preservice workshop, teach demonstration classes, take part in materials development, and consult individually and in groups with novice instructors. Working in close concert with a course supervisor, assistants serve an apprenticeship that can prepare them eventually to assume the duties of a faculty member working in TA development.

Conclusion

This multitiered model recognizes the fact that new instructors must have their immediate needs met. Indeed, focusing on technique in the early stages of professional preparation will help ensure quality teaching in basic language courses, one of the missions of any foreign language department. But if major research institutions with large graduate programs are also to fulfill their mission of preparing specialists who will continue to develop not only as scholars but also as teachers, we must go beyond the accepted standard of a workshop plus a methods course that prepares TAs to teach elementary language courses.

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Applied Scholarship in Foreign Languages: A Program of Study in Professional Development

Katherine Arens
University of Texas, Austin

As the chapters in this volume indicate, the humanities are starting to have excellent models for the development of teaching assistants (TAs) as teachers—explaining what teaching implies for language instruction, composition, and the teaching of literature within the typical classroom.[1] However well intentioned, though, such discussions of teaching tend to create the erroneous impression that "teaching" is an activity somehow divorced from or different than the rest of that TA-turned-professor's professional life (but this assumption is often contested; see Clark, 1987; Deneef, Goodwin & McCrate, 1988). Whether potential assistant professors specialize in literature, cultural studies, linguistics, or history, promoting the assumption that the skills involved in successful teaching are essentially different than those used by a successful scholar will prove detrimental to their careers. This chapter counters that damaging assumption and suggests a new context and rationale for preparing TAs to chart their own professional development, outlining the philosophy behind a pragmatic approach to professional guidance. It will also suggest how preparation guided by this philosophy can be implemented into the traditional graduate program or TA environment, and how the dynamics of language program direction must be expanded to include total professional preparation.

A New Need: Developing a Professional Profile

A growing body of literature addresses professional development, particularly for junior faculty increasingly beleaguered by monetary and temporal restrictions (see the rethinking of the university system offered in Pelikan, 1992; Peters, 1992; and Rand, 1992, for example). Perhaps the most visible of these works is Jarvis's *Junior Faculty Development* (1991). Jarvis broaches typical issues for the discussion: faculty reward, time for research, relative weighting and importance of teaching and scholarship. But his book also reveals the restrictions typical for the genre: it seems to be aimed primarily at administrators and chairs, arguing for the institution's need to place and deal fairly with its faculty, and suggesting to average faculty members what their "rights" should be, if they are to develop successfully.

If senior faculty members read suggestions made by such writers as Jarvis, Byrnes (1990), or Devens (1986), they will recognize the profession's current litany about what constitutes normal teaching and research schedules, clear and honest statements about faculty productivity under a variety of conditions, and a fair representation of the multiple demands on college and faculty (research, advising, administration, and teaching). Junior faculty members are more likely to consider the text utopian, far removed from their daily professional lives: their institutions may seem not to be delivering (or probably even offering) such incentives for development. Sabbaticals for junior faculty are disappearing; split teaching loads with ever-increasing enrollments are common; released time for course development is virtually unheard of these days. These new junior faculty members all too easily are overwhelmed by the time- and energy-consuming demands that seem to contribute little to their status in "the profession" and the rewards for which they were trained in graduate school. Many junior faculty members feel unappreciated by their new institutions.

A real fact of the 1990s is that institutions are not able to take care of their faculty as well as they did in the past. Even when the money and perquisites are available, the junior faculty's access to them is often conditional on finding an appropriate "mentor" in her or his department or administration to point them out—a process that takes time. Then, too, the junior faculty member may have the temerity to dream of a personal life, aside from the other burdens imposed on her or him. It may seem unrealistic, in the limited amount of time before promotion and tenure reviews, to expect all these elements to coalesce and enable faculty members to develop the "professional profile" predicted for them in graduate school.

The tenure system is by no means permanently stacked against junior faculty, no matter how impossible it seems at times. Nonetheless, tenure will be much less reachable unless junior faculty members take not only their personal lives under their own direction, but also their professional lives. In these tight times it will behoove each faculty member to be prepared to utilize the limited resources of the average college or university efficiently and consciously, not only to develop her or his own professional profile, but also to enhance the student and colleague environment. This preparation must start in graduate school: it must teach the TA about to become a professor about the demands of the profession, not just about scholarship or teaching in isolation.

Currently, when one reads applicants' dossiers for academic positions, one notes painfully that these new PhD's often do not know what they will be doing when they fill an academic position. They have few clues about what the profession will demand of them. They may have mastered the basic mechanics of assembling curricula vitae, cover letters, and letters of reference, and they may be able to follow the procedural directions included in standard references like Showalter's (1985) *Career Guide for PhDs and PhD Candidates* (but not necessarily the spirit of those directions). All too often, the total package fails to suggest an identity behind these documents: the applicants do not realize who they must be to meet the real demands they will be faced with in their professional lives: balancing time, scholarship, and institutional and personal pressures.[2]

New Academic Jobs: Reassessing the Professional Profile

The Ph.D.-turning-professor needs to be prepared to negotiate largely uncharted shoals. Various checklists help us define successful scholarship; there needs to be a commensurately comprehensive checklist to aid us in outlining a successful professional. Choosing a scholarly profile may appear premature when one is a graduate student. But such directions and their accompanying habits need to be established in graduate school, if the TA is to learn to organize time efficiently as a beginning assistant professor—one who hopes to chart a path to tenure or to other professional and personal avenues of satisfaction growing out of years of study.

This checklist must: 1) project ideas about quality of life as well as scholarship; 2) be comprehensive, because the answers it suggests evolve only gradually as an individual rethinks what she or he is able and willing to do in a profession; (3) outline the options in an individual's "professional profile" (her or his self-definition in teaching, scholarship, and institutional activities), showing how the individual's interests match up with the profession and the institutions in which she or he works; and (4) assume tacitly that an individual's ultimate goal is not only an academic job, but a career (and, probably, a life) that will grow, not only through a first job, but into a second or third as well.

The core checklist helping to chart an individual's professional landscape has three questions, each pointing to professional options which, viewed systematically, help establish a priority system for the choices an individual must make to iterate a professional life with personal preferences. All three questions interlock, but prioritization is nonetheless worthwhile.

Am I Primarily a Scholar?

If the faculty member assumes this profile, she or he will be "playing" for tenure and scholarly recognition in a research or research-compatible institution (that is, one with research leaves, conference sponsorship, or at least a respectable library in a scholarly specialization). Her or his professional persona will be evaluated in terms of scholarly productivity and likelihood of tenure. Can that assistant professor, for example, place six to ten articles in literature or linguistics, and a book at a refereed publisher, within the time allotted for tenure probation? If she or he chooses the book option, this book should generally be in addition to the published dissertation, no matter how much rewritten (the "tenure book" needs to encompass significant new material or a fresh approach, and mark an advance over the dissertation). Can this professor write grant proposals for extramural support to get the released time to complete this research? Can she or he accomplish this research while still teaching reasonably well, and without imposing undue and unfair burdens on departmental colleagues by neglecting other shared duties? (See Elling, 1984, for a list of other factors.)

The "scholar" profile overtly claims, too, that this individual can teach the "survey" and the "introductory course" in the specialty discipline, both on the graduate and the undergraduate levels. That profile also claims that her or his approach to the scholarly field (in terms of material and pedagogy) will be able to speak to both the "older (that is, canonical) generation" who will be the winning votes in a hiring or tenure decision, and to the "younger generation" interested in scholarly innovation.

The department evaluating a professor with a "scholar" profile will also be looking for a scholarly colleague, more or less covertly. They need answers to questions such as: Does this person "share" research, reading, and references? Can she and will she read and edit for other people? Is he able to conduct a useful discussion about the specialty to specialists in other, neighboring or nonneighboring, disciplines? These questions constitute a professor's "personality quotient," the public face of a potentially successful scholar: even a scholar needs to manage interpersonal relationships with her or his peers in the profession. "Pure scholarship," just doing one's work in the ivory tower, needs to be mediated to students and other professionals.

Am I First and Foremost a Teacher?

If assistant professors assume this profile, they are claiming not only good teaching recommendations and a track record of good student and peer evaluations, but also an interest in curriculum development and educational research. Interviewers will evaluate them as possible coordinators, or as liaisons to the campus's center for teaching effectiveness. Moreover, they will be expected to document their classroom commitment publicly, since what students say is only hearsay to colleagues and the institution. Therefore, in addition to classroom success, they will have to: publish articles on pedagogy; on TA, apprentice, or student teacher supervision; or on curricular innovations; and/or they will have to give workshops to educators at other levels and in varying contexts.

An acknowledged "teacher," as customarily defined, gains professional visibility as an advocate of the students and of defined curricular practices. That advocacy must extend beyond the classroom to the profession and to the educational establishment. Again, that is established through substantive publication, committee work, or workshop/in-service contributions to the profession and the institution—not "just" to one's own students. Said more pragmatically: if that new course is really good, a description of it and its pedagogical goals ought to be publishable in an appropriate pedagogy or education journal (see, for example, Adelson, 1988, and Jurasek, 1988).

Am I a Potential Administrator or Program Developer?

A teaching profile often merges into a third major option, that is, is the assistant professor going to make a mark on the profession organizationally "instead of" or "in addition to" scholarly ways—a phrasing which badly misrepresents the impresario and organizational genius who can become a successful college and university dean or president, a journal editor of stature, or a leader of professional organizations.

Such a profile is difficult to assert for junior faculty, since it usually only comes to fruition over years (especially for humanities professors, who have much less contact with major granting agencies than do those in the sciences or social sciences). Even to consider evolving this profile, a professor will have to be able to write and edit reports, to coordinate, to deal with study abroad programs, with honors program development, with university or national committees, with funding entities, or with the government. Moreover, that professor will need the broadest possible exposure to educational issues at the highest level, and so must know how the home institution stands vis-à-vis others of its type, level, and region.

That professor must be active in professional organizations such as the American Associations of Teachers of German (AATG), French (AATF), or Spanish (AATSP), the Association of Departments of English (ADE) or Foreign Languages (AFDL), the Modern Language Association (MLA), the Linguistic Society of America (LSA), . . . and a list of similar organizations that do policy for their professions. Even a graduate student or a beginning assistant professor can begin to participate in one of the many local layers of national organizations, each with huge amounts of work needing to be done. At the same time, this professor must teach for undergraduate majors, for graduates, for the student population of the institution in general, until a full-time academic management post becomes available. Administrators at the department and program levels need to accrue "professional credibility" not only by teaching, but also by publishing and appearing at professional meetings in the field of their Ph.D.'s—administration does not come "in lieu of" teaching and research.

The answers to these three questions are not measured qualitatively or quantitatively, but by a faculty member's focus of attention and chosen audience (what issues, how framed, and who is reacting to these messages).

Survival Tactics: From Answers to Actions

The core questions above are philosophical. They imply, however, a set of tactics that most of us presumably develop as a part of "on-the-job training." Yet they are so basic for survival in those jobs that leaving them to chance means that we fail to acknowledge the reality that scholarship, teaching, and academic service are complexly interrelated in ways that are opaque to the uninitiated. Consider the following issues from the point of view of the strategies needed to address them:

> *Professional Tactic 1:* Uncovering institutional needs that can be filled while concomitantly enhancing one's own ideal professional profile.
>
> *Professional Tactic 2:* Doing so expediently, early enough in the career to change course, if necessary.

To illustrate the preparation that is essential to negotiate these multiple challenges successfully, let us consider two case studies.

The Cases of Professor Q and Professor V

Although she was finishing her Ph.D. at an extraordinarily prestigious research institution, Professor Q was grateful for the only tenure-track job offer she received in tight times, and has thus landed at the third-tier campus of a large state university system, about an hour's drive from a major city. But having arrived on this campus, she discovered that the situation looks bleak. She is an expert in the nineteenth-century novel, and this system campus houses the schools of nursing, biological sciences, and social work. Her first year is a horror: students understand cells and counseling techniques, but "seem never to have read a book," let alone understand how to write an essay in proper grammar (native or foreign language). Professor Q thus has evolved what she feels is a survival strategy: spending weekends with a friend in the adjacent larger city, using the major research library there during the days, and "catching up" on culture. What promised to be a haven in a fine area of the United States has turned into a nightmare.

Q's teaching feels worse every semester, leading her to assume that her students are much inferior to those she taught in graduate school. Her colleagues, she feels, must not be much better, since they have never lobbied for the library holdings that would enable her to do her work properly. No wonder, then, that she feels she is getting nowhere on research, either.

Q has fallen into the trap of assuming that she and her graduate institution had the only viable image of what the study of the nineteenth-century novel might imply, and that only students who accept this definition are worth teaching. Even if her attitude (as missionary to the cultural heathens) remains good, she has never asked herself the key question: why should any particular groups of students think that the nineteenth-century novel is the epitome of high culture? Q has tried to persuade them of this fact by example of her presence—and a few of them actually ordered her dissertation through interlibrary loan. Needless to say, her credibility as the voice of American culture was strained, as the students gamely tried to penetrate her very fine, but relatively technical dissertation, written with an altogether different audience in mind.

In her fifth semester of teaching Q has decided that her job may, indeed, depend on student retention, and her class sizes have stabilized at a modest number—fewer than her colleagues' classes. In desperation, she decides to teach science fiction (which she has never studied systematically), and finally gets a full class. Instead of being delighted with her new strategy, Q sees her worst fears confirmed: she is living in the wilderness, and if she tries to teach her specialization, her existence in the profession is threatened.

How has Q gotten into this mess? This professor has committed a potentially fatal error: she has imported assumptions wholesale from the "major leagues" of her graduate institution and wonders why they do not work in other institutions. She has not checked what "natural resources" exist on the campus—what prerequisites, what type students, what successful programs, what regional needs—and so she is teaching into a void of her own making.

Q's classmate, V, got an almost identical job offer in another state, but has taken her career in another direction. Professor V considers her job to be one of those felicitous situations that allow her both to research and teach the nineteenth-century novel on her campus successfully. She found out that virtually every student on her land-grant campus went to the Friday Night Films, and that the series planners were eager for program suggestions. She thus had them order the feature film versions of five nineteenth-century novels, and constructed a course based on how the books were adapted into films: in other words, she had the students analyze narrative perspective, voice, and point of view, which they were eager to do in the new framing. This tactic turned out to be so popular that she was asked at least once a semester to introduce a Friday Night Film with a short popular lecture.

For another course, she rethought the content of her favorite novels, and realized that many of them were written by physicians or dealt with disease and public health in the nineteenth century. Needless to say, her course on "Doctors and Society" became a favorite for the premed students, especially when she had the students pretend they were physicians and write up case histories of characters in the novel, as if they were treating them and making a diagnosis for file records. This was not the kind of expository prose she was used to teaching, but she was pleased to discover that assigning "case studies" instead of essays for half the semester taught her students enough of the mechanics of formal writing that their final papers (on more traditional literary topics) improved dramatically. That class won an award from the biology students' club, the only humanities course to be so mentioned.

Where Professor Q had almost dismissed the resources of her campus as an asset for her tenure quest, Professor V has used her campus to figure out how her professional specialty and her day-to-day responsibilities could match. As by-products of these new courses, V was able to present papers at a symposium on popular culture and at the Society for Literature and Science, opening up her own scholarship to new interdisciplinary twists that made her future scholarly writing much more distinctive than it might otherwise have been.

What do we learn from our tales of contrasting career paths and attitudes? Professor Q never really undertook a realistic inventory of her campus situation, her students, and her own specialization. Because of this mistake, she did not recognize that her earlier courses had not been relative failures because she was unlucky or because her students were poor. Courses are not good or bad by themselves; teachers are rarely global successes or failures. But Q's courses were ineffective in terms of the demographics and resources of her campus. In Professor V's case, her felicitous discoveries added up to a professional life that actually aided her personal life. After she started mobilizing her campus's resources, V was able to overcome the sense of intellectual isolation that beset her friend, Q. V no longer felt that her real life happened on weekends, when she went to the city alone. In conversations, V ultimately recognized that Q's failure to get tenure was, in large part, strategic: Q had wasted a lot of effort, and had thus overlooked remedies for the intellectual problems she felt—solutions and opportunities right at hand on almost every campus, if she had only thought to look for them earlier.

Hidden Professional Issues, Part 1

All too often, professors (like Q) labor under the delusion that institutions are supposed to appreciate them and offer them automatic rewards. That is only conditionally true, based on what the institution needs—not necessarily on what the professor has to offer, which may be a mismatch.

Moreover, the institution is not likely to sense the mismatch unless something goes grossly wrong, or unless an extremely effective mentoring system is in place. The most successful professor is, to be sure, the one hired by an extraordinarily careful screening committee, one that understands that the candidate's personal goals need to be in tune with an institution's profile as regards its reputation as a scholarly and teaching institution. In other cases, as with Professor V above, the faculty member must be able to iterate between the needs of the institution and the individual, so that common goals can be uncovered and served, directing resources to fulfill the institution's plans while serving the individual's needs at the same time.

On one level, this iteration between personal and professional success involves the ability to do an effective inventory of campus resources, to determine what resources are needed to support successful integration of a research specialty into an institutional curriculum, and into a research/teaching symbiosis that will allow teaching and research to produce simultaneous yields.

On a second level, this iteration also requires an ability to achieve this symbiosis expediently, since professional development takes time. Institutional analysis helps reduce the time taken by failures, by quixotic innovations that require more careful groundwork than initially anticipated, by overlooking obvious "holes" or opportunities. Moreover, if a specialization can be integrated into a campus strategically, the new colleague has automatically created a publishing opportunity for herself or himself: she or he gets to work actively and often with seminal texts in the field (the "classics," if not all the secondary literature), and engages in dialogue with students to keep the materials fresh and to open new perspectives on research. Preparing a text for almost any level class can open a thought for an article, a speech, a "culture capsule," or a new teaching strategy for the classics—any of which can yield professional rewards.

The example above was a case where a professor has learned to integrate teaching and research. Hidden in these successes, however, are two additional professional skills that will emerge as crucial over time:

> *Professional Tactic 3:* Taking a specialization to the public, not assuming a gap between "real research" and "what students need."
>
> *Professional Tactic 4:* Realizing that an academic or managerial specialization means not only a set of materials, but also a writing style, a style of thought, and a history, each of which can be highlighted to create new courses for the existing curriculum, thus ultimately expanding the interest

base among the available student body for your disciplinary specialization over the long term.

Now let us consider the dilemma faced by a third mythical professor, W, who teaches in a different type of institution than Professors Q and V above—an institution with a whole tradition of education that needed to be rethought as missions for distinguished liberal arts colleges begin to shift.

The Case of Professor W

Professor W has taught at a small liberal arts college for a decade, and is responsible for one of the most successful literature courses on the campus, "Other Voices in American Literature." This course had grown directly out of W's dissertation, which analyzed literature dealing with the Civil War, particularly texts by women and slaves. W was hired to be the voice of multiculturalism on the campus, and is generally considered to have done so successfully. Nonetheless, W is not entirely satisfied with the cultural diversity of the rest of his department's literature and language courses: he is the only one teaching texts in minority literature, and, tacitly, students who want to go on to graduate school consider the survey courses in American literature to be much more central to their education, even though they have all enjoyed W's course. W is getting a little bored with the course as it stands, as well, even though the demand is constant; his own research has moved on to more theoretical questions of minority literature and censorship, and to a much broader concept of the social function of literature. Whenever he mentions the theories on which his new work is based, his colleagues agree how interesting the new work is; when he pilots some of these theory texts in his undergraduate class, however, students think the materials are abstract, too difficult, and off the point.

After long deliberations, W decides to pilot a follow-up course to "Other Voices in American Literature," combining pairs of texts about social movements (wherever possible, texts written by the different social or ethnic groups) with a beginning text on the group sociology and social power. Although he has to move very slowly at first, students gradually learn how to analyze literature from the perspective of sociology. This course eventually gets cross-listed in the sociology and political science departments as a recommended elective for majors. With this success, W is able to develop a new series of courses, based on his current research, that more fully integrate minority voices into the literature, sociology, and political science majors. Moreover, another faculty member will be hired to help sustain this innovative "multicultural imperative in liberal arts education."

Hidden Professional Issues, Part 2

This kind of success story is all too often perceived in terms of a professor "moving out" of literature, when, in fact, he is bringing literature to a new audience and is showing how literature is part of a culture's history that can be used in other contexts. Professor W has shown a willingness not to accept a snap judgment about the suitability of literary theory for the undergraduate curriculum, and an ability to insert it into a new context that expands its viability for the general curriculum.

Professor W has managed to avoid a damaging assumption running through language and literature departments. All too often, course design is defined by identifying a topic that the faculty member wants to present to the students—as a body of information, without an explicit social, political, aesthetic, or conceptual framework. In other words, Professor W (like the successful Professor V discussed earlier) has transcended the bland "information only" approach that Professor Q stubbornly clung to. Professor W has chosen instead to apply the information of his speciality in a very real, intellectually honest sense. Such applications are implied in any disciplinary discourse, and if professors realize this, as Professors W and V did, they learn to control more covert issues: the questions of suitability, acceptability, and validity that are often less a question of investigatory correctness, and more one of "sounding professional" or assuming the right disciplinary discourse.

Expressed more pragmatically, a specialist in one literature can teach that literature, or the distinctive narrative strategies of that literature, or use that literature as an example or case study of another type of problem. A new course can be a new spin on an existing course, or an adaptation of an existing course to new student populations or curricular needs (for example, "multicultural imperatives"). As in the earlier case of Professor V, such an innovation can benefit the professor not only by reducing the distance between his or her teaching and research, but also by creating a new environment of support for a speciality on a campus (in this case, an interdisciplinary component).

Such new courses represent real curricular innovations that can fit into institutional requirements other than those for the official "major department" for which the professor teaches. Professor W aimed to create a new track; in other cases, a small literature department may be expanded or diversified (offering a greater variety of courses) if courses are designed with an eye to area or distribution or general education requirements. The core of a major can remain intact, while added courses draw in students who otherwise would not have entered that department's buildings.

Toward Pragmatics in TA Preparation: Habits and the Professional Profile

The four tactics exemplified above are definitely not the only ones that can make or break a scholar or a teacher, but they often are the ones that will make or break a career, in that they predict the ease or difficulty with which the PhD/TA can turn into a producing scholar and teacher with a distinctive profile among peer colleagues and on the campus. They are tactics that enhance diversity without sacrificing quality in the classroom, and that allow a professor to use time efficiently, by combining aspects of teaching and research that have all too often been considered separate fields. The need for such mutually informing perspectives will grow as colleges and universities change. (See Lunsford, Maglen & Slevin, 1990, to make that case, or DiPietro, 1983, or Waldinger, 1990, for examples of how whole disciplines are changing.)

As an aside, these tactics may also be the recipe for the humanities to survive into the next generation, in a situation in which "research professorships" in the humanities seem to be the exception to the professional norm, not the rule. The "real profession" does not exist only in theoretical scholarly innovations, conferences, and colleagues (see, for example, the Modern Language Association Program issues each November in *PMLA*, and the reports put out by AEGIS, the Alliance for Education in Global and International Studies). The classroom will remain the funding source for humanities research, not the converse.

The successes that the mythical Professors V and W achieved are, at present, all too easily seen as products of extraordinary minds. In fact, they are based on real and teachable parameters of the academic position, not "trade-offs" or "personal preferences" that are left to individuals to solve when they "profess"; they rest on tactical skills that should be taught as part of every graduate curriculum. From this perspective, *academic professionalism must be redefined,* not as a set of behaviors (as if they were manners, and not central), but as a set of *activities that influence every facet of a future professional's life.*

For this reason, this chapter suggests that certain assignments should be incorporated into every phase of graduate work, not just when "pragmatic issues" arise. The suggestions to be made are not necessarily new. Many programs and departments address them under the rubric of professional workshops; virtually all Ph.D. supervisors address these issues with their doctoral students when it comes time to put a dossier together and apply for jobs. What is new is the suggestion that such professional development be integrated into the training of a discipline itself. To wait to instruct TAs about how to develop a professional profile until they are putting together their vitae and dossiers and searching for jobs is simply too late. Instead, "TA training" needs to be redefined as the development of professionals—not only professional teachers, but professional scholars.[3] And therein lies a key to getting more of a department's faculty involved in the TA process, through assignments that teach the survival skills outlined above.

The first assignments that need to be implemented into every phase of a graduate curriculum should foster a sense of the linkage between a disciplinary specialization and its implementation in the classroom at every level; these assignments should also facilitate the communication of a discipline to different audiences, to expert and less-than-expert alike. Such communication is not based on the limited idea of "applied learning" decried by Patricia Kean (1993) in a recent *Lingua Franca* (which takes the intellectual strategies from a teacher's discipline and applies them to problems that students will encounter in typical jobs after graduation). Instead, students can learn how an academic discipline may be interesting because of its information content and because of its inherent strategies for formulating and solving problems on fields of data. The link between a discipline and a new audience must respect both the discipline and the audience: it brings students into contact with an academic mind-set, instead of diffusing academics' knowledge into a secular work world.

The average PhD does not realize immediately, for example, how a research project on the modern sonnet may be furthered in a technical college or science-focused university. After all, sonnets are a literary form, but engineers only understand mathematics and symbolic logic. However, math and symbolic logic are themselves only formalized versions of natural languages, technical patterns that communicate closely reasoned conclusions to a group of cognoscenti who understand those languages. Starting from this observation, a sonnet may be redefined as a natural language variant of formalized conventions—and, in this way, sonnets may be made interesting and intellectually significant for engineers, just as nineteenth-century novels interested future doctors in the example of Professor V above.

Preparing professors to make such connections, however, involves a rethinking and retooling of the graduate curriculum. For example, one very typical type of graduate literature, linguistics, or cultural history seminar requires graduate students to write an extensive final paper. Most often, that essay is graded as part of the discourse of the particular seminar. However, to prepare them in the tactics of connecting scholarship and institutional mission, students should be required to address the audience of that paper explicitly—most easily by making them add an abstract or commentary sheet to their essay, outlining which audience this paper is meant to address, and how the material and presentation would need to be changed to adapt the paper for alternate audiences. As a shorthand approach to this problem, the students could be required to decide which professional journal or conference would be most likely to accept the essay (if edited up to proper quality) as it stands; the second phase of the assignment would require them to adapt that choice to a second journal, identify that journal's different audience, and again outline the changes the paper requires.

As another variant of such tactic-oriented assignments, each student should be asked to write an abstract of a class or seminar paper, of the kind that would be submitted to a conference's call for papers or to a granting agency for preliminary screening. The faculty member should then comment on and grade that abstract as if it were being considered for a panel or first-round grant cut. If geographically feasible, the program should also require that such an abstract actually be submitted to a conference, at least once during the period in which the student is taking classes. In the same vein, each student should be required to revise and submit at least one seminar paper for possible publication (again, during the period before the dissertation, while they are still taking courses).

This practice sounds extreme at first hearing, yet it reflects the habits of successful scholar-teachers, who are proficient in recycling preparation. Each new course taught easily yields one conference presentation, which should subsequently be turned into an article. Note, too, that this recycling may be multifaceted. It may focus on the presentation of the material, as well as on the research content of the material: a new course can represent a strategy for curricular innovation that can be described in a journal article. Thus such assignments (presentations and publications) are eminently appropriate for the terminal MA or MAT student, not only for an academic or scholarly PhD Even a culture capsule for a first-semester language course or an innovative assignment for writing classes can be written up and published as a short report in a pedagogy journal specializing in "how-to's"; a scholarly essay that is solid (and not exactly vanguard) can still be a valuable contribution to an entry-level or graduate student journal.

When students move into the dissertation (and into the ranks of real specialization and less contact with departmental and professional reality), the contact between material under study and audience becomes even more crucial. At a comparatively early phase of dissertation work (ideally, within a year of starting in or being accepted for candidacy), the student should be required to present the work in progress to the department or program, whether that student feels ready or not. The questions asked by a sympathetic audience of other students and faculty will provide peer feedback, and aid the student in giving shape to a project, which ultimately may save drafts or many long hours locked in a personal mental closet instead of engaging in the discipline and among their peers. Such an activity encourages socialization and outreach, and fosters professional community and the belief that projects can be interesting and significant. It also prepares students for the subsequent annual or third-year reviews increasingly common for untenured faculty.

Not only individual classes, but entire graduate programs can compel students to work to improve flexibility, requiring them to adapt materials to various audiences. Students may be required to present dissertation or seminar materials to various study groups on campus, to guest lecture in other graduate or undergraduate courses (with reviews, videotaping, or other evaluative feedback), or to work out how a paper might be presented to a strictly disciplinary and then to an interdisciplinary conference (in the first case, for example, presenting work on a sonnet to a group studying sonnets; in the second, presenting what sonnet structure and symbolic logic have to do with each other, in the question of the "sonnets for engineers" example from above).

The foregoing may sound like radical requirements for most graduate programs, but work groups in natural sciences departments regularly require such presentations from their graduate students. With such experience, the student learns that a presentation or essay stands or falls not only because of the material it contains, but also because of its success or failure in contacting a public. Alternate presentations force students to consider how projects can be extended or adapted; they enable students to redefine the significance of their scholarly work, and to consider how their work might impact an institution, a professional organization, or a classroom. Perhaps equally important, while still graduate students, future college professors will learn how to engage in the style of the pragmatic discourse characteristic of successful researchers.

A second group of assignments fostering professionalism is more familiar, since its tasks deal with pedagogical concerns. Increasingly, the need to implement these assignments into every graduate program has been recognized, to aid students' transitions from dissertation writers and teachers of beginning writing or language to contributors across all levels of their institutions (see, for example, the program of the January 1993 conference sponsored by the American Association for Higher Education on "Faculty Roles and Rewards"; see also the representative reports completed by the American Association of Teachers of German Task Force on Professional Standards, 1993).

Traditional graduate teacher preparation in the foreign languages, for example, has often involved designing a course for the primary language or composition sequence in a hypothetical "typical" department. What this assignment is lacking (aside from any potential link to most dissertation topics) is exactly what is being valorized in language teaching today: a move toward interdisciplinary curricula and linkages to other humanities departments (see Jurasek, 1988, or Adelson, 1988, for example). Beyond a first-year course, students should also design a course or set of courses based on their dissertation material or area: generally, a fourth-semester content course (for the "introduction to reading" slot in a foreign language department, or the "masterworks of literature" slot in sophomore English tracks).[4]

From this perspective, the traditional first-year course design problem also needs to be augmented. As part of learning to teach a language course, for instance, a TA should learn not only the method on which that particular textbook or syllabus is based, but also the population for which that method is most effective *and* which changes should be made for different target populations. Without such flexibility, a new professor unconsciously imposes the teaching styles of the degree-granting institution on the new context without assessing their appropriateness *or* considering how different conceptual or classroom approaches would be more appropriate to help new students achieve the same intellectual rank as ones in the prior institution did. Just as scholarly articles should be reframed for different audiences, outlining what changes would need to be made in an existing course if it were to be taught in another (and specified) institution should be part of any course design project.

Traditionally, "scholarly" PhD candidates are not prepared to turn their dissertations into courses. But here again, a candidate would be well served by doing so. For example, a PhD dissertation in philology may present material on older languages or methods of linguistic inquiry not conventionally represented in the undergraduate curriculum. But certain of the skills or materials involved in the dissertation speciality may be extremely appropriate for an undergraduate course—a course on the etymology of familiar words, for example, or on nonsense languages (exemplifying linguistics or philology, and introducing undergraduate students to fields not ordinarily presented to undergraduates). Or other such courses may enable a future professor to capitalize on the dissertation and teach students how to use and enjoy historical reference books—as, for example, when Professor V's students wrote case histories instead of other kinds of formal essays, as an innovative approach to composition in the undergraduate curricula.

Other variants of course design assignment may be useful for other types of PhD candidates: foreign language students may design a course that can fit typical campus distribution requirements for interdisciplinary or intercultural studies, or writing requirements (in English); English students, a course in "writing across the disciplines" in either the upper or lower divisions, using dissertation area materials as a case study for some other point. Here again, the students designing these courses must describe the institutional niche the course is meant to fill (perhaps using the home institution as a model, or any other recognized institution type, including schools)—doing the research for and explicitly linking their courses to prerequisites, cross-listings, student types, and other campus resources. Moreover, they should provide an argument describing why the course should exist within a particular institution, what its particular learning outcome should be on the target campus (as a language for special purposes idea). Only if these issues are addressed will the graduate student/TA become aware of the process of adapting courses and materials to varying student and institutional needs, as in our examples above. Again, such assignments increase the outreach of an individual's intellectual program—and make scholarship relevant to teaching by integrating their contexts.

The suggestions made above should be integrated into the graduate curriculum on all levels. Such assignments need to be an integral part of every graduate course, if individuals are to develop healthy professional habits; tactical capabilities must be integrated into courses at all levels (even specialty seminars).

But to succeed in preparing graduate students for the diverse faculty roles they must play, the typical graduate program also needs one more addition, if a TA's professional development is to be as effective as possible: a course in "applied scholarship," teaching the students how to develop and assess their professional development—in a certain sense, a course teaching the bookkeeping appropriate to the professional profile, the bookkeeping that uncovers the cause-and-effect relations of outside evaluations of the evolving professional career.

An example will clarify what is meant here by "professional bookkeeping." If a professor is developing a scholarly profile, she or he will quite naturally be involved in getting grants and released time from teaching. What is not often discussed are other results of getting grants—the expectations they build. For instance, a professor who has a research grant is creating the expectation of scholarly publication. If no substantial publication results from such a grant-released year, that scholar stands an increased risk of being considered a failure. Similarly, if a professor gets released time from a dean or chairperson to develop a new curriculum, that dean will expect successful implementation of that curriculum: increases in enrollment, positive evaluations, and quite possibly a report to a professional organization or journal about that innovation, "advertising" the institution that paid for it in released time.

Such "facts" are clear to senior faculty; they constitute essential criteria for evaluating the professional success or failure of a career. What a course in applied scholarship can do is teach TAs such facts, as they are evolved and evaluated in the context of an individual's professional profile. This course must reemphasize the assignments suggested for general curricular implementation by tying these activities into a regular pattern of documenting and evaluating one's developing professional profile. The primary instruments in such documentation and evaluation are the same as those used in promotion and tenure decisions: a detailed curriculum vita and a teaching portfolio, evolved in ways outlined below (for a checklist of the details of a vitae and teaching portfolio, see the Appendix to this chapter on these two sets of documents, which also contains examples of the professional decisions that must be made while assembling them).

It takes time and practice to establish and maintain this documentation; without them, a professional cannot be fairly assessed. Usually, TAs receive direction in assembling a vita when they apply for a job, under the mentoring of an individual professor. This is perhaps the least effective way to learn about a vita, since that professor often shares fields and intellectual assumptions with the student—and so the document reflects an understanding between virtual peers, instead of speaking to the profession as a whole.

Increasingly, institutions do a third-year or even an annual review of their junior faculty to assess their trajectory, inform the department of their activities, and suggest remediation, if potential problems are perceived. I suggest here that each department do the same for their M.A. and Ph.D. candidates, using a course in midstudy as the instrument of that assessment: that, as part of a course on applied scholarship, each student write up a professional vita to assess her or his professional profile (and more pragmatically, start to learn appropriate bookkeeping). This vita should, in turn, be submitted to the department as part of the student's candidacy process, and be evaluated as stringently as the dissertation proposal itself typically is.

Each department can decide who assesses these documents, but more than the dissertation supervisor should give feedback about how students are presenting themselves and what they could do to bolster their career goals without enormous amounts of additional work—or what real service or activities they have given to the department that deserves mention on the vita (again, see the Appendix for practical suggestions). Moreover, particularly for the PhD candidate, the public exposure that such a link between one individual course and the program will afford may also create professional opportunities.

Such a course recommends itself for the student in advanced stages of course work, perhaps in the third year of full time study. As such, it will constitute a reality check, a progress report along the way for students to ascertain if they are perceived in the way they think they present themselves. It will get TAs into the habit of checking their professional environment, to see what opportunities they can exploit for their personal advancement; it will tie their course work into a public presence, and aid them in solidifying their professional images, to fine-tune the diction norm and appropriate activities of their field, and to displace their anxiety about their future onto a set of learnable and manageable tasks. The language and literature professions and their institutions are diverse enough that almost any personal profile can be accommodated, as long as the person can project a professional image that indicates that she or he knows what she or he is doing.

The syllabus for the prospective course will involve most of the activities suggested above. Each student should come into the class with a finished seminar paper that is central to at least one area of her or his scholarly interests or career goals. What the class will do is force students to make the kind of transformations that professionals do: to project their interests into the various realms in which they will engage as teacher-scholars.

The first group of exercises deals with editing and professional writing, and should be backed up with an appropriate textbook (such as Claire Cook's *Line by Line.* [1985]).

Task One: Using the *MLA Directory of Periodicals* (1993), and under guidance of a work like *The Academic's Handbook* (Deneef, Goodwin & McCrate, 1988), which indicates what a particular area of scholarship implies for a future career, locate the best journal into which the improved paper would fit.

Task Two: Write an abstract for the proposed paper, and present to the class that abstract and the proposed venue of publication—subjecting these documents to peer review.

Task Three: Peer-edit the paper's thesis statement, reviewing before and after statements of the first page.

Task Four: Consider how an area of research can be funded by identifying a funding source for this or a similar project.

Task Five: Write a research proposal to be submitted to that agency.

Task Six: Assemble and critique a vita to accompany the grant proposal.

Task Seven: Refine the abstract to be submitted to a conference panel.

Task Eight: Prepare a mock conference presentation with peer review of the scholarly essay's material.

Task Nine: Develop a course proposal (with an institutional critique and description of pedagogical goals) on the basis of that research area, including sample assignments, book list, teaching capsule, and examination.

Task Ten: Compile a research and teaching profile by writing at least two letters of application to model job search committees at different types of institution; compile the documentation to accompany those letters.

Task Eleven: Critique (peer review) the version of the essay to be submitted for possible publication.

One might object that it is not possible to do all these things in one semester, but since students enter this course with a complete seminar paper, the effect of the time pressure will be to force them to begin working on the professional activities they need to have by the time they are applying for jobs in earnest. Most of these activities, therefore, will be "real," not classroom activities; a few (for example, job applications) will be simulations, but will be real within a brief period of time. Each department may have its own standards for discourse, or preferred models, but the students must learn early to do such things.

Again, it would be valuable, too, for some of these assignments to be reviewed by faculty members beyond the immediate class—who could come hear the sample conference papers, or critique the mock job applications and vitae, for instance. As the case was made above, such discussion must be the responsibility of the entire department.

Conclusion: The New Coordinator(s)

The proposals made above, whether implemented as a course or as a set of program requirements, outline to TAs what a professional career really implies for an academic. They should help disabuse them of the notion that a career can be composed uniquely of "teaching or scholarship," and aid them in making professional choices that will facilitate their lives and careers.

Hidden in these proposals, though, is an additional need: a redefinition of the TA coordinator, or of TA coordination as a larger concept, including the graduate faculty in general. Traditionally, the coordinator is the one who teaches TAs to teach and who monitors their progress, while the graduate adviser is responsible for each TA's academic progress. This model, though ubiquitous, is obsolete today, because it does not consider the whole situation of a professional scholar and teacher. What the new coordination should encompass is the professional as a whole; who the coordinator must coordinate is not only the student, but also the faculty responsible for that student—the coparticipants who must assist by teaching professional tactics and monitoring a graduate student's progress into a career by evaluating their professional behavior, including and beyond classroom performance as teacher and student.

This final suggestion does not, by any means, imply that one faculty member can remand colleagues' academic freedom or supervisors' relationships with their students. Nor does it imply that a single faculty member could or should fill all these roles. However, unless a program as a whole takes active responsibility for its students' professional development and skills, that program is not fulfilling its obligations to the profession as a whole (since it is purveying unskilled workers into the field) or to students (since they will not be equipped to chart personal and professional careers other than by trial and error). Individual supervisors may disagree with what constitutes viable scholarship or desirable jobs, but programs as wholes rarely disagree when they see failures.

This new kind of professional coordination is thus a logical extension of the work currently considered independent turfs: supervision of lower-division courses and graduate advising. These two perspectives must merge before graduate programs can expand their development programs and treat their students as future professionals who will address varying audiences: comprehensive universities, liberal arts colleges, vocational schools, and community colleges. This chapter has thus argued that programs should extend the purviews of their existing advising entities, or create new professional advising roles to round out the preparation given graduate students. Moreover, these new advising roles must be cooperative, involving the major part of each program's faculty as a microcosm of the professional peers with whom graduate students-turned-assistant professors must interact. Only with attention to the larger professional environment and the attendant professional skills will graduate students be able to chart their courses effectively in this time of academic change, and to survive in a world of shifting faculty roles very different from those of their supervisors and of the research institutions where they themselves are studying.

Notes

1. Sally Sieloff Magnan (1993) has, however, outlined how even most successful TA development programs may not adequately prepare TAs to teach in second-year courses.
2. Parts of this chapter were originally given as a presentation for a panel on "The Second Job Search" organized by the MLA Committee on Careers for the MLA Convention in New Orleans in December 1988. My thanks to Janet Swaffar for her significant editorial and content suggestions; the failings which remain are my own.
3. Here, some might object that I am speaking of the PhD candidate, not the terminal MA or MAT I am, however, referring to activities that are

appropriate for all levels: keeping professional books, defining one's career track, writing abstracts and professional reports or papers, and participating in professional organizations. These are activities appropriate to and adaptable for all our graduate students, no matter the level. For a model of a course that fills these needs, contact Janet Swaffar in the Department of Germanic Languages at the University of Texas at Austin, who has organized a professionalism development seminar under the rubric of a graduate writing course; this course provides a model for the course in applied scholarship described in the last section of the present chapter.

4. In the Department of Germanic Languages at the University of Texas at Austin, for example, PhD candidates in pedagogy are required to design a fourth-semester course; other students are strongly encouraged to do so. Evidence suggests that having these course designs available as part of their job dossiers significantly aided these students in their job placements.

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APPENDIX

Documenting a Professional Profile, Part 1: The Curriculum Vita

Traditional wisdom says that a vita includes the following sections, which each student must learn to handle for self-publicity:

1. Name/Address
2. Dissertation
3. Education
4. Professional Experience
5. Grants
6. Honors
7. Publications
8. Invited Lectures
9. Service
10. Languages
11. Professional Memberships
12. Areas of Specialization

These things seem simple and self-evident, but information must be organized to help communicate the individual's desired professional profile. Accordingly, each section has possible uses as a bookkeeping aid, either for or against a professional, and should be treated with discretion. They constitute the "reality check" for a professional profile, since each type of entry can cause or counter a danger in a successful profile.

Name/Address sounds simple, but if the student has an ethnic name that matches the field, that student must figure out what personal data she or he is comfortable revealing, and what the advantages and disadvantages of such revelations can be. Stating US birthplace or US residency influences the readings of an individual's language abilities or cultural preferences: Did she or he learn languages at home or in school? Is the person with a West Indian name who is working on West Indian literature a West Indian herself or is she only married to one? It is technically illegal to be asked about sex, ethnicity, marital status, and the like, but such questions are asked if the vita does not clarify possible confusions before they arise. Students must develop their own sense about how much personal information to reveal in order to balance expectations against their performance.

A *Dissertation* will be construed as the starting point of a career, in terms of its predictive value. If it has been many years since the dissertation's completion, its title and supervising committee may be insignificant. However, its title should not, for example, be replicated in the title of a first postdissertation "book," or the presumption will be that it is a reworking, not an original piece, which, in certain cases, may mitigate against future tenure. It helps to consider the long-term ramifications of titles and committees early on, and to get used to optimizing.

Education needs to be organized with most-recent level first, and preferably with dates introducing the degrees and places—continuity is most important here. If a student has skipped around, or has taken a lot of short-term, in-service, or summer courses, he or she might need to introduce a separate category to separate out *Other Education* from *Degrees* so that the clean lines of education and career development emerge. If the student "stopped out," that needs to be explained (not justified, but related to real circumstance or opportunity). Keep in mind that if a field is changing any little bit of formal preparation that seems in keeping with that change may look good; thus, even the single summer institute or conference may warrant inclusion on a vita.

Professional Experience for academics usually means teaching experience, but several other scenarios easily emerge: editing experience? in-service workshops? teaching in nontraditional (for example, corporate or military) environments? One might want to make subcategories such as: *Professional Experience: Editing,* in order to clarify the picture. Even

Teaching may, in certain cases, be profitably separated into categories—particularly if they emphasize curricular or supervisory abilities, and the like. On the other side, one may want to mention, but nonetheless "hide," certain experience that otherwise needs to be included to account for time—for example, that a former high school teacher is really a scholar now. Extensive high school-teaching experience in a field related to later Ph.D. work is significant, but the professor may need to separate out college-level teaching experience, community college experience, and high school experience, depending on whether the institution respects such outreach—research institutions may find high school teaching experience irrelevant, if not downright embarrassing; community colleges will appreciate that experience with "real students," which may speak well to an individual's long-term commitment to general education.

Grants, Honors, Publications, and Invited Lectures (with possible additions like: *Panels Organized, Workshops,* or *Panels Moderated/Respondent)* need to be treated with sense. The professor must figure out everything that can fit in these categories, and then design an order reflecting the strongest professional profile. Those items should be located high on the vita that match the intended profile. The expectations that such an organization creates must also be monitored: if any category gets disproportionate, it will be questioned (for example, if he gives so many lectures, why aren't any published?).

Honors like "best graduate student" are important if that is what a beginner can point to, but any publication would be more important than that, and such an entry would be embarrassing for an associate professor. Conversely, a Rhodes Scholarship listed under *Grants* has lasting cachet, no matter how long the career. *Honors* from very undistinguished sources may be less significant than *Invited Lectures* (a division hinting that the candidate is better than his or her degree-granting institution).

Publications must be differentiated and put into a hierarchy: books, textbooks, chapters, articles, edited volumes, notes, reviews, translations is an approximate hierarchy, reflecting relative importance. To mix them up is false representation: several reviews mixed up with one article makes it look like someone is trying to "sell" herself or himself as a spurious four-article person.

As a variant of "teaching documentation," as I will discuss below, it is also important to document effectiveness in other ways, available as supplements to the vita proper. To document performance at conferences and workshops, one can ask the audience at a presentation to evaluate the presentation. If proceedings of such oral presentations get accepted for publication, keep documentation (letters and the like) indicating how the choices were made, and what selection criteria and degree of selectivity was ensured, to show that what could have been an automatic acceptance was actually highly competitive in intellectual quality. Similarly, to confirm the quality of a journal, keep a record of the acceptance rate of a journal, available to append to the copy of a published article that is in an official scholarly portfolio.

Service also fits this ability to frame professional expectations: carefully document committee work (not only title, but significant projects undertaken) in the profession, the instituion, the community, and the student body. Subsection titles may be used to highlight achievement, or to match service to the expectations of a particular institution's values. Too, new titles and organizations may repackage an individual for a new institution or profile. Lists of committee work should be kept by year, with descriptions of the committee's projects for the year—to prove that it was not a committee in name only (for example, the examination committee who evaluated 16 students in a year, not none; the university committee that revised an official policy instead of one that passed three routine resolutions).

Languages, Professional Memberships, and Areas of Specialization generally look like padding, and are usually dropped after one gets the first job. To be sure, a philologist or comparativist needs to indicate degrees of multilingualism because that is integral to the job description; in contrast, a specialist in "modern American literature" might profit by multilingualism, but may easily conduct a large part of her or his research and teaching monolingually. *Professional Memberships* are important only if they are elective; if a vita is blank, such memberships show that one knows where a particular field fits in the profession; if a vita is full, this category only consumes space. *Areas of Specialization* does not mean much as a category in the days of decline of canonical job descriptions. A much better tactic is to document areas by having a publication in each. If that cannot be done, or if an individual is too new in the profession, then add a separate page to the vita (in another format) that purports to explain transcripts and education (organizing course work—with expanded, illustrative titles, instead of the abbreviated computer-generated ones—under scholarly areas, possibly in alternate versions for various purposes).

The importance of such a vita cannot be exaggerated, and thus a course focusing on professional activities and their presentation in such a document is more than recommended. This document needs careful construction and critique; a program of study is responsible for giving a vita's owner what it implies to them—and to indicate if the emerging profile fits the student's strengths, and what activities should be undertaken to render that profile acceptable to employers and grant agencies. That critique should begin at "silly" issues like legibility, white space, use of titles and first-page priority to suggest what the individual values most. It should extend well into the realm of suggesting the need for professional engagement at any level. To put this critique at the level of a course and program requirement will reinforce its importance, and can aid students in taking professional development into their own hands, out of the hands of chance mentors or benevolent administrators.

Documenting a Professional Profile, Part 2: The Teaching Portfolio

What is a teaching portfolio? And what needs to be in it, except for copies of all course syllabi taught or designed?

This is a new document being suggested to faculty within an institution, designed to flesh out a committee's sense of an individual's day-to-day activities, and to demonstrate more thoroughly how scholarly and service work impacts an institution and its students (see Shore, 1986, Seldin, 1992, Seldin & Annis, 1991). It should contain additional documentation, but also short essay statements that are the professional narratives around which a career is built: showing, for example, that a course was developed not only to gratify the professor, but in order to respond to student or institutional needs, or how research was requested by a campus or a professional organization. This is the place to explain why a professor did what she or he did.

This explanation has a source and a goal: where the individual started from (dissertation, education, and the like), what arose, and how the individual developed. This includes notification of how an individual transferred competencies, applied expertise, devoted successful efforts, and the like.

The teaching portfolio should thus provide backup documentation: it should contain not only the syllabus of a course developed, but also a description of the program, major, or requirement it was designed to improve. Such documentation may also include correspondence about that course: memos, compliments, fan letters from students, and the like. Each course description should also be accompanied by course evaluations written by students (officially, if available, or unofficially); these evaluations should be kept by semesters, as a master file for courses taught. Note, too, that promotion files usually require three years' teaching documentation; more than that can prove evidence of steady improvement, and/or a change in student evaluation of a course over the long term. It is also important to keep records of why a professor had a teaching disaster: indicate whether participation was voluntary, if the program has a record of that course being difficult, or the like.

In this context, it is also important to have documentation of colleagues' visits to classes (at all levels); each visitor should file a report on observations (dates, topics, description of the class hour, statements of strengths and weaknesses). Again, this documentation is designed to complement student evaluations. TAs should encourage their supervisors to observe their teaching regularly—at least once a year. TAs should also look for opportunities to offer guest lectures in graduate or undergraduate courses, to build up their teaching experience, and to gain other types of teaching recommendations from the professors in whose classes they guest.

The Dynamics and Visibility of the Postsecondary Foreign Language Enterprise: A Five-Year Survey of the *Chronicle of Higher Education*

Francis Lide
Michigan Technological University

Today's graduate teaching assistants (TAs) in PhD–granting departments will become tomorrow's foreign language faculty in American higher education. Then they will play a dual role as both foreign language professionals and members of the American professoriate. Whether they will have gratifying careers in the three to five decades of their professional lives will depend not only on the quality of their teaching and the productivity of their research, but on the health of their field, the public awareness of that field as worthy of support, and the esteem in which they and the subject they profess are held by society at large and especially by faculty in other disciplines. In short, their career success will depend on the dynamics of the factors that contribute—or fail to contribute—to their "visibility."

In an attempt to assess the visibility of foreign languages and literatures—and especially their language component—within American higher education, I intend here to report on a systematic survey of the *Chronicle of Higher Education* conducted from September 1987 through August 1992. Before presenting and analyzing the results of the survey, I will attempt to explain the importance of visibility, to expand on the notion of visibility as it can be applied to academic fields, to assess the *Chronicle* as a barometer of visibility, and to estimate the size of the American foreign language professoriate compared to that in comparable liberal arts disciplines in order to determine whether persons in foreign languages have achieved visibility in proportion to their numbers.

The notion of visibility in the sense defined in the *Oxford English Dictionary* (s.v., "visibility, the degree to which something impinges on the public awareness") has enjoyed considerable currency in the institutional and disciplinary politics of American higher education:

1. A senior resident historian at the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum wrote that "serious scholarly consideration of the Holocaust . . . has been far less visible" than its treatment in popular culture (Milton, 1993).
2. A paper on the future of the Fulbright program signed by eight former presidents of the Fulbright Commission noted with displeasure that the program "has been all but invisible in more than half the countries where it has functioned" (Watkins, 1993: p. A40).
3. When a new president took the helm at EDUCOM, he was quoted as saying that "there's lots to do to raise the visibility of EDUCOM among [higher education] organizations" (DeLoughry, 1992: p. A18).
4. The then president of the Society for the Scientific Study of Sex said in 1987 that his goal was "to increase the visibility of the society" (McDonald, 1987: p. A4).
5. A sociologist at Berkeley lamented in 1989 that "sociologists have been virtually invisible" in research on the AIDS epidemic (Coughlin, 1989b).
6. The American Sociological Association recently "initiated a program to improve the visibility of sociological research, especially among policy makers and news organizations" (Coughlin, 1992: p. A7).

Yale Germanist Jeffrey Sammons (1976) gave his provocative essay on the field of German in America the title "Some Considerations on Our Invisibility." Sammons noted that Germanists have suffered from a "relative absence from the general American community of the educated and from the consciousness and respect of [their] fellows," and that this "consciousness and respect" among peers in other disciplines is crucial for the health of an academic field (pp. 18, 21).[1] Though Sammons was mainly concerned with the literary component of his branch of the foreign languages and literatures, his essay causes one to wonder whether the situation he identified can be generalized to all the language and literature components of *all* the languages taught in American colleges and universities.

As defined in the sociological literature, a learned profession is an occupation requiring "formal technical training," based on knowledge that is put to "socially responsible uses" in the solution of problems (Parsons, 1968: p. 536). The academic profession is unified in terms of holding faculty appointments in institutions of higher education but is so radically divided by specialty as to comprise as many professions as there are disciplines (Light, 1974: pp. 10–12). For each academic field an important dimension of its visibility is the perception that the discipline is a repository of expertise based on knowledge that is useful to society for the resolution of social and intellectual problems and questions. This view is widely internalized among academic disciplines. Certainly it is implicit in the program of the American Sociological Association cited above "to improve the visibility of sociological research *especially among policy makers and news organizations*" (emphasis mine). It is also exemplified very clearly in a *Chronicle* story (Monaghan, 1989) describing an attack by the Australian anthropologist Derek Freeman on the validity of Margaret Mead's research in her *Coming of Age in Samoa.* Catherine Bateson, Mead's anthropologist daughter, called the controversy "destructive and subversive of the possibility of using anthropological data responsibly in making societal decisions" (p. A6).[2]

A discipline feels that its visibility needs improvement when those who profess it are insufficiently consulted on matters germane to its concerns. Indeed, as evidence for the invisibility of Germanists, Sammons (1976: p. 18) notes that they have not been asked to review books on German topics for the *New York Times Book Review,* the *New York Review of Books,* or *New Literary History*—in marked contrast, one might add, to the situation in German history, where Gordon Craig, the dean of American historians of Germany, has written regularly for the *New York Review.* When it comes to visibility within the academy, Sammons's (1976: p. 18) definition, restated in positive terms, is an improvement over that in the *Oxford English Dictionary:* visibility is the visible presence of some discipline in "the general American community of the educated and [in] the consciousness and respect" of persons in other disciplines. Here disciplinary visibility takes on the additional dimension of intellectual significance and ferment, which, together with societal visibility, can play a crucial role in the competition among disciplines for resources within universities, and in the competition among universities interested in creating prestigious departments. Senior administrators want to know which horses to back. When an endowment campaign made significant resources available to Duke in the mid-1980s, administrators bypassed Senior faculty in the existing English Department, described as offering "a tired and traditional program," and appointed the high-profile Stanley Fish to head and reconstruct the department by hiring young poststructuralists of various stripes (Heller, 1987a: p. A12).

The *Chronicle* is American higher education's newspaper of record. It is widely read by faculty members looking for jobs or interested in academic politics, by administrators at all levels and from all specialties, by the staffs of academic professional associations, and by grant-making agencies and their program officers. It is cited in sufficient volume to warrant being held on microfilm even in relatively small academic libraries. Its circulation is listed as 88,600 (*Ulrich's International Periodical Directory,* 1991–92: p. 1589). To visualize what this figure means, if we were to assign 8,600 copies to foreign and off-campus subscribers and those in two-year and small specialized institutions, that would leave an average number of 42.4 copies for each of the 1,926 four-year institutions in the United States.[3] The number of copies sent weekly to such academic addresses as Ann Arbor or Chapel Hill could well number in the hundreds.

The *Chronicle* publishes an immense amount of material. Two dozen assistant editors and regional correspondents supply the bylined stories in the United States. International news is supplied by another two dozen stringers in various countries ("Masthead," 1992). Receiving favorable extensive mention in the *Chronicle* is something of a coup for faculty and administrators. Members of the higher education community themselves supply the weekly back-page Point of View essay as well as the Opinion essays and Letters to the Editor that, together with the announcements of job openings, comprise the *Chronicle's* Section 2 (page numbers with a B preface). Here the visibility of an academic field depends on the capacity and inclination of its members to participate effectively in the discourse on matters of concern to those in American higher education. For the rest, the *Chronicle* seems to rely heavily on press releases.

As for the populousness of foreign languages compared to other fields, to my knowledge no single reliable breakdown of American faculty members by discipline exists. *The Digest of Education Statistics* (National Center for Education Statistics, 1992: p. 226) lists the population of "full-time regular instructional faculty in institutions of higher education" as 489,000, but makes no breakdown by field beyond such broad categories as humanities, social sciences, and natural sciences. To arrive at the figures in Table 1, I made a closely estimated count of the listings under selected fields in the *Faculty White Pages* (1989), a directory classified by subject that lists "more than 533,000 teaching faculty at over 3,000 US colleges, universities and other institutions of higher learning" (p. xi).[4] That the *Faculty White Pages* includes 44,000 more listings than the *Digest of Educational Statistics* can be attributed to different counting methods and to the inclusion of some nonregular and part-time faculty.

Table 1

Teaching Faculty by Selected Fields

English	37,070
Sociology (includes social work)	18,290
History	15,270
Foreign languages	14,683
Political science	11,617
Anthropology	4,253

Unfortunately, the editors of the *Faculty White Pages* lump sociology faculty together with faculty in social work, which greatly inflates the combined figures. In schools of social work, practicing social workers are enlisted as field instructors, and it is common for them to hold adjunct appointments at nearby campuses. For the purposes of comparison of visibility, then, foreign languages combined are 40% as populous as English, more populous than political science or anthropology, slightly less populous than history, and probably slightly more populous than sociology without social work (80% as populous if social work is included).

Survey Design

To conduct the survey, each issue of the *Chronicle* for a five-year period was scanned in hard copy for mentions of foreign languages; volumes 34 (1987–88) through 38 (1991–92) were covered. The *Chronicle* is published weekly except for the last week in August and the last two weeks in December. This arrangement resulted in 49-issue volumes in 1988–89 and 1991–92. An atypical beginning-of-year almanac issue in 1991–92 was excluded, resulting in a total of 241 issues surveyed. The results were recorded in an informal database record for each issue, listing the major *Chronicle* departments, such as In Brief, Portrait, Scholarship, Personal and

Professional, Information Technology, Opinion, and Letters to the Editor (Section 2), and the back-page Point of View essays. Mentions in the International department were noted only if there was some language-related involvement of American colleges and universities. Whenever a mention was discovered, extensive notes and summaries were entered into the database. Throughout, I attempted to err on the side of inclusiveness, so that many passing mentions buried deep within stories were identified and recorded.

Table 2 charts the "hits"—from passing mentions to feature stories—and gives them an initial classification. A total of 242 hits were recorded. Note that no mention at all of foreign languages was found in 91, or 30%, of the issues surveyed.

But a number of issues contained several mentions, which explains the fact that the number of hits was about equal to the number of issues despite the large number of issues with no mention. Table 2 shows a marked jump in "More significant, nontechnological" mentions from 6 in 1987–88 to 25 in 1988–89. One can assume a time lag before the *Chronicle* began to reflect the increased interest in foreign languages expressed in the 18% increase in enrollments between the 1986 and 1990 Modern Language Association (MLA) surveys (Brod & Huber, 1992: p. 6). The attention generated in the wake of a feature story on the 1988 ACTFL convention was also a significant factor, as noted below. Some of the mentions under "Brief or in-passing" shade over into the "More significant, nontechnological" category.

Table 2

Stories Mentioning Foreign Languages in the *Chronicle of Higher Education*

Volume	No. of issues	Issues with no mention	Techno-logical mentions	Brief, or in-passing mentions	More significant nontechno-logical mentions	Total mentions
1987–88	48	28	8	13	6	27
1988–89	49	15	9	14	25	48
1989–90	48	14	11	20	22	53
1990–91	48	18	18	9	23	50
1991–92	48	16	30	24	10	64
TOTALS	241	91	76	80	86	242

Results

Technology-Related Mentions

These mentions fall into a distinct category deserving separate treatment. They represent the major bright spot in the visibility of foreign languages. Of the 76 technology-related mentions in the survey, 43 appeared in the subdepartment New Computer Software; these were listings of various software programs, usually about one column inch each, with the subject identification in bold type (for example, **Spanish**) at the beginning of each item. Ten other mentions were for awards for educational computer software, of which six were gleaned from a multidisciplinary list ("Descriptions of 101 Successful Uses of Computer Technology in College Classrooms," 1991). Three hits were mentions in passing as part of multidiscipline stories. In two other stories Romance linguist James Noblitt was mentioned for two column inches in 1988 and again in 1992, by which time he had become director of the Institute for Academic Technology at the University of North Carolina. In this latter story Noblitt is identified as the author of the prize winning program *Système-D* and is cited as pointing out the potential for using video for teaching authentic speech in a foreign language (Noblitt, Solá & Pet, 1992; Watkins, 1992).

Five mentions were brief single-campus news releases, for example, "Students at Lehigh University Can Watch Live Broadcasts in Thirty Languages in a New Television Lounge Called the World View Room" (1992). An additional nine were major announcements, such as a story headlined "Satellite TV for News from France" (1988), describing a project supported by multiple grantors for disseminating "France-TV Magazine," with accompanying exercises, through the University of Maryland in Baltimore County. This story is among only 11 technology-related hits that gave foreign languages prominent mention in the headline.

The remaining four stories could be considered major mentions. A story in the Scholarship department ("Humanities Researchers Experience a 'Sea Change' in the Use of Computers in Their Disciplines," 1989) on the use of computers in the humanities mentioned the computerized corpus of the Treasury of the French Language, which contains more than 150 million words of text from 1600 to the present, as well as a book on literary computing by a Gallicist in Canada. A front-page story continued to the Personal and Professional department (DeLoughry, 1988) reported on the efforts of the computer consortium EDUCOM to create a peer review system for academic computer programs in four disciplines, including languages, in an effort to secure more recognition in the reward structure for authoring such programs. Three persons in languages were mentioned in the story, including the coordinator for languages, who was quoted repeatedly. A major bylined story under Information Technology (Wilson, 1991) described a project, headquartered at the University of Maryland, for allowing students to simulate international negotiations using an international computer network. The project had a foreign language dimension of unspecified scope, but some negotiating positions were described as being translated. The political scientist codirector of the program (the other codirector was a Slavicist) described it as linking "issues of substance to foreign-language learning," a linkage which, perhaps not atypically for a social scientist, he considered otherwise lacking. Another bylined story (Watkins, 1991) reported on a project at the University of Pennsylvania in which German feature films are mastered onto laser videodisks and worked up for interactive use in a system that allows for random replay of selected conversational exchanges, transcriptions of the dialogues, and annotations of the films as cultural artifacts.

Brief, In-Passing Mentions

The eighty mentions in this category contribute only marginally to the visibility of foreign languages. All are brief, and any connection to foreign languages as a subject is not highlighted. The exceptions fall into two subcategories. The first is the annual listing of Fulbright and Modern Language Association awards. The Fulbright Awards produced ten tabulated mentions, five for the graduate fellowships and five under the Fulbright scholar program. The graduate fellows were identified by the subheading "Languages and Literature," followed by the name of the recipient in bold type, the name of his or her university or college, and the name of his or her destination country. Fulbright faculty awards were listed alphabetically by field, with the relevant subheading being "Language and Literature (Non-US)." Again, the name of the recipient was set in bold, followed by the person's title, identifying department or discipline, affiliation, and country of destination.

Announcements of MLA awards appeared in four of the five survey years, accounting for six tabulated mentions. Four of the awards were for the "outstanding research publication in the field of teaching foreign languages and literatures." Two additional awards were for work in Italian and Hispanic literatures, respectively. The MLA awards were included in a box labeled "Fellowships and Awards" together with awards from other professional associations. Each award received about seven lines of print, with the name of the award coming last, so any reference to foreign languages was deeply buried.

Three stories in the In Brief department—one folkloric, two scandal-related—comprise the second subcategory of mentions more visibly related to foreign languages. University of Virginia Slavicist Natalie Kononenko was featured in a story ("Virginia Professor Teaches Art of Egg Dyeing," 1992) about a community workshop on Easter-egg decorating, with a color photograph of Kononenko, in Ukrainian costume, holding up an Easter egg. On the very same page was a story ("Professor Removes AIDS–Awareness Poster," 1992) of six column inches about a teaching assistant in the Spanish department at the University of Texas at Austin who displayed a sexually explicit AIDS–awareness poster in his office. And when someone at Iowa showed the film *Taxi zum Klo* in a German language class, students were scandalized by the explicit scenes of homoerotic activity, and the instructor was denounced by the administration and the governor ("Two Governors Question Sexually Explicit Material," 1991).

Twenty-five brief, in-passing mentions were attributions—for example, a letter writer or someone active in an institutional dispute is identified as being a language person, but in a context unrelated to foreign languages. Included here were five attributions to persons in positions of leadership in higher education, as in a Portrait piece (Mangan, 1991) on Manuel Pacheco, the president of the University of Arizona, who was described as holding a doctorate in foreign language education from Ohio State. When foreign language persons attain such positions of leadership, they reflect favorably on the field as a whole.

Thirty-six hits were mentions in-passing that fit two patterns: brief stand-alone mentions and mentions within a series of disciplines. An example of the former occurred in the middle of a back-page Points of View essay (Banner, 1990) by a historian on the occasion of the 25-year-anniversary of the National Endowment for the Humanities (NEH): "One peril [to the NEH]—imitation—is a tribute to the endowment's success. The proposed national endowment on foreign languages and international studies—not a very good idea—would . . . promote new competition for federal money." A typical example of the second category occurs in a story (DeLoughry, 1989) on the Charlottesville education summit of 1989. In a list of six goals that Democrats put forward for the summit, the fourth is cited as "improving math, science, and foreign-language programs" (p. A30).

More Significant, Nontechnological Mentions

In the fall of 1988, someone persuaded the *Chronicle* to send a reporter to cover the 1988 joint ACTFL meeting and file a professional-meeting story of the sort the *Chronicle* regularly publishes for other disciplines. That feat resulted in a major story on the teaching of foreign languages that appeared in the Personal and Professional department (Watkins, 1988b). Watkins came away with so much material that she filed an even longer story (1989b) the following February. This story ran for six column inches on the front page and was continued to the Personal and Professional department, for a total of fifty column inches, with an additional twenty-two column inches in a box listing the various methods of language instruction, "from Audiolingual to Suggestopedia" (p. A14). The new willingness to run long feature stories on foreign language as language was reflected in a story (Oberlander, 1989) in August 1989 on the Indiana University summer institute for East Asian languages, and again in 1990 with a story (Watkins, 1990) on the "Foreign Language in the Disciplines" program at St. Olaf College. It also resulted in a major story (Monaghan, 1992) in the International department in July 1992 on the key role of languages at the Monterey Institute of International Studies.

The two stories by Watkins in the 1988–89 volume seem to have emboldened persons in foreign languages to submit opinion pieces and letters to the editor, for they resulted in a letter of nine column inches making reference to Watkins's long reports, a letter touting the TV series "Contact French," and a major back-page Point of View essay on the need for increased U. S. language proficiency (Shanahan, 1989), which in turn was rebutted by a letter questioning the value of foreign-language study. This trend continued with a Section 2 essay by Gallicist John Bednar (1990) on the importance of foreign languages to programs in international business, and a Section 2 essay arguing that "Languages Must Be Taught 'Across the Curriculum'" (Straight, 1990), with Bednar's essay triggering two letters to the editor in response.

In the meantime, the 1990–91 volume opened with the announcement that Lehigh University, running counter to the general trend, had dropped its language requirement "without apologies" ("Lehigh Drops Its Foreign Language Requirement for Undergraduates," 1990). This decision elicited so much criticism that David Pankenier, who chaired the department at Lehigh, published an essay of thirty-four column inches attacking language requirements (Pankenier, 1990). The essay attracted two rebutting letters to the editor and a counterrebuttal by Pankenier. The immediate wake of the Persian Gulf War, meanwhile, inspired S. Frederick Starr—historian and Russian studies expert, then president of Oberlin College, and a member of the Advisory Council of the National Foreign Language Center—to publish a Section 2 essay titled "Colleges Can Help America Overcome Its Ignorance of Arab Language and Culture" (1991). The story on the 1988 ACTFL convention and the pieces that more or less followed it account for twenty-one of the eighty-six mentions in the "more significant" category, not all of which can be discussed here.

Foreign Languages and International Studies Mentions

In the 1987–88 and 1988–89 volumes, six mentions—of which five are clearly identified as coming from circles close to the Joint National Committee on Languages, on the one hand, or Richard Lambert of the National Foreign Language Center, on the other hand—were evidence of active promotion of foreign languages and international studies. An additional seven mentions involved grants and government support, such as the story (Desruisseaux, 1991) on the passage by Congress of the National Security Education Act in support of study abroad and graduate fellowships in "international and area studies and foreign languages." A further seven mentions were based on institutional initiatives and press releases, such as two stories on a report by a self-designated consortium of 52 international liberal arts colleges.

Miscellaneous Mentions

Seventeen hits fit into a broad miscellaneous category, ten of which are discussed below. As Sammons (1976) has forcefully argued, an academic field gains prestige and visibility when some of its members can participate in an effective and articulate fashion on issues considered important to their society. The same is true when they attain positions of leadership in higher education, or when they engage in other initiatives that reflect favorably on their field. Two Germanists—Sol Gittleman, also provost at Tufts University, and Stanley Corngold of Princeton—participated in the discussion occasioned by *Chronicle* stories concerning Paul de Man's wartime collaborationist writings (Gittleman, 1988; Corngold, 1988). Romance linguist John Joseph (1990) wrote an articulate letter in response to an "Opinion" essay in which Reaganite Linda Chavez described being disinvited from giving a commencement speech in Colorado. John Ellis, author of *Against Deconstruction* (1989) and professor of German at Santa Cruz, published a lead "Opinion" essay on "The Origins of PC" (1992) arguing from German intellectual history in a critique of multiculturalism.

When Claire Gaudiani became president of Connecticut College, she was featured in a Portrait piece (Watkins, 1988a) that mentioned her educational interests and her background as a Gallicist and foreign language educator. The academic alliances with teachers in the schools, which Gaudiani founded in 1981–82, became the subject of a major story (Watkins, 1989a), with Gallicist Ellen Silber, the coordinator for the alliances in foreign languages and literatures, being extensively quoted. Silber (1989) and Gallicist Clara Krug (1989) each wrote letters championing alliances and addressing the problem of their uncertain place in the academic reward structure. In 1991 two foreign language educators were prominently featured in a lead Personal and Professional story (Blum, 1991) on a meeting of the then four-year-old Textbook Authors Association. Joel Walz and Kathy Heilenman were interviewed, and Heilenman was pictured in a photograph. At issue was the place of textbook authorship in the reward structure of research universities, where so many directors of lower-division language programs are heavily engaged in writing textbooks. Finally, Dartmouth Slavicist Deborah Garretson became the subject of a Portrait piece (Mooney, 1991) for becoming qualified as a State Department interpreter, a qualification she acquired as a hedge against being passed over for tenure.

Foreign Languages and the Humanities: NEH and MLA Mentions

This classification was given to 11 finds. When languages are mentioned in stories emanating from NEH and Lynne Cheney, its chairman during the survey years, they typically come last—and almost as an afterthought—in a long series of fields that fall within the NEH's responsibility; for example, "To improve humanities education, Cheney recommends that more time be devoted to the study of history, literature, and foreign languages" ("Humanities Chairman Criticizes Schools for Emphasis on Skills," 1987). The 1988 biennial report of the NEH was reprinted in full in the *Chronicle.* When speaking in disciplinary terms, the reference to foreign languages is omitted, and the humanities are referred to as "such disciplines as history, literature, and philosophy," a formulation occurring repeatedly in the report. The report stated that in 1988 it was possible to earn a bachelor's degree from seventy-seven percent of the nation's colleges and universities without taking a foreign language ("Text of Cheney's 'Report to the President, the Congress, and the American People' on the Humanities in America," 1988: p. A18). In a story (Watkins, 1989b) four months later, an NEH survey was reported as finding a modest increase in core fields required for a bachelor's degree in 14 subjects, including foreign languages. Cheney commented optimistically that if the trend continued, it would be "very difficult to get a baccalaureate degree without studying English, history, philosophy, and foreign languages" (p. A28). Another story (Heller, 1989: p. A1) described a report by Cheney recommending "a structured core [at the college level] that includes two years each of foreign-language study and one year each of the natural sciences, the social sciences, and the basic methods of mathematics." An excerpt from the report itself reads: "FOREIGN LANGUAGE/12 HOURS. A two-year requirement; it is recommended that students fulfill this requirement by taking more advanced courses in a language they have studied in high school" (Heller, 1989: p. A15). In an earlier story ("Humanities Chairman Criticizes Schools for "Emphasis on Skills," 1987), Cheney is cited as follows: "While noting a revival of interest in foreign languages, she criticized what she called a 'vocational' approach to language study."

Cheney's tenure at NEH was characterized by feuding between her and academic humanists as represented by the MLA and the American Council of Learned Societies. For all this feuding, the two parties to the conflict were in agreement about one thing: neither spoke as if the language component of foreign language studies was worthy of enjoying disciplinary status or as being included in the humanities. In January 1989 the *Chronicle* carried the "Text of 'Speaking for the Humanities,' a Report from the American Council of Learned Societies," in which academic humanists were defended against attacks by Cheney, William Bennett, and Alan Bloom. Authored by five Anglicists and by Gallicist and comparatist Peter Brooks of Yale, the report made no mention of foreign languages. Rather, the humanities were defined as the study of texts, both written and visual. In exactly the same fashion, the 1988 NEH report describes the humanities repeatedly as the study of texts ("Text of Cheney's 'Report to the President, the Congress, and the American People' on the Humanities in America"). By this definition, the literature and film studies components of foreign language studies are humanities, but the language component is not. Visibility and disciplinarity are denied through an act of classification.

MLA executive director Phyllis Franklin was the subject of a Portrait piece in 1987 (Heller, 1987b). In 30 column inches of text, 36 words were devoted to foreign languages and literatures. Otherwise, a large professional association such as the MLA rated convention stories in the *Chronicle* in three of the five years of the survey. None of them make any mention of foreign languages. The only related mentions were the six awards for research in foreign languages and literatures tabulated above under "Brief, or In-Passing Mentions."

Tying the foreign language enterprise to the study of literature has resulted in some negative publicity in the *Chronicle*. In a lead Section 2 piece (Lauer, 1990), a psychologist-administrator responded to Cheney's proposal for a core curriculum by asking, "What evidence do endowment officials have that the study of ancient civilizations or foreign languages produces any increase in self-knowledge, critical thinking, or sense of community?" In the Portrait piece on Phyllis Franklin (Heller, 1987b), Franklin is reported as citing a convention session on "Ghosts in East Asian Drama" as an example of the innocuously exotic to counter the perception that MLA convention programs are dominated by a radical obsession with race, class, and gender. And in a back-page Point of View essay (Barnett, 1992) arguing the incompatibility of teaching and research, an "academic program administrator" cited a 400-level course at Rutgers on "The Seduced Maiden Motif in German Literature" as an example of faculty members inappropriately teaching their esoteric research interests. While little visibility is derived from harnessing foreign languages in the service of literature in the original, that arrangement frequently results in charges of exotic irrelevance.

Two finds were in response to the invisibility of humanists during the breakup of the Soviet empire because area specialists in the social sciences were called on for expertise, not humanists. The editors aptly caught the spirit of a letter (Levine, 1990) by a Slavicist when they headlined it proudly: "Not All Scholarship on East Europe Was Shaped by the Cold War." And in a back-page Point of View essay (Connor, 1990), the director of the National Humanities Center attempted to argue that our failure to understand and predict the upheavals in Eastern Europe was connected with "our neglect of the humanistic factors underlying international politics."

The Scholarship Department Mentions

Three language-related titles rated short reviews in the now discontinued Scholarship subdepartment of Books: an edited collection on *The Art of Translation* (Winkler, 1989), a book on Grimms' fairy tales by Germanist Maria Tatar (Winkler, 1988), and a volume of utopian and working-class fairy tales and fables from Weimar Germany translated and edited by Jack Zipes (Coughlin, 1990). In a later feature story on children's literature, Coughlin (1991) interviewed Zipes for his expertise. During most of the survey period the *Chronicle* carried a subdepartment called Research Notes containing items gleaned from scholarly journals apparently sent to the *Chronicle* for the purpose. Two stories there appeared in the survey. An article by a Slavicist rated a story of nine column inches headlined: "Pushkin's Popularity Seen Tied to Search for Russian Identity" (1991). One of eight column inches was on an article by "a German-studies scholar" on the German cabaret movement in the interwar period ("German Cabaret Tried to Reconcile High Art and Popular Culture," 1992). The first article was newsworthy because of contemporaneous events in Russia, the second because of the film *Cabaret.*

For an academic specialty, the most desirable form of visibility in the *Chronicle* would have to be a major feature article in the Scholarship department. In the five years of the survey, foreign languages and literatures together rated one such article, a lead story on the seventeenth-century Mexican poet Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz (Paul, 1988). As with the Zipes volume, the story became newsworthy because of translation, in this case the impending publication of two translations: A Sor Juana anthology and Octavio Paz's book on Sor Juana. In highly research-oriented departments, a translated book is hardly considered a flagship publication, but the visibility of the non-English-language subdisciplines of literary study depends precisely on the willingness to mediate the target literature for an American audience, not on publishing abroad in French, German, or Spanish for audiences in those language territories. Jeffrey Sammons (1976: p. 17) makes this very argument

The New Scholarly Books subdepartment of the *Chronicle* has carried subheadings from time to time under dance, film studies, women's studies, cultural studies, and rhetoric (composition studies) but none under foreign languages, either individually or collectively. Books in the literature component of foreign-language studies are classified under literature; books in the applied linguistics aspect of the language component are classified under linguistics. One find, a book subtitled *Toward an Intercultural Theory of Foreign Language Education,* was carried in the Personal and Professional department under the heading "New Books in Higher Education" (1991). This practice of subsuming foreign language titles under literature, linguistics, or education results in sharply decreased visibility for foreign languages and literatures. Since the present survey is primarily concerned with the language component, I decided not to include literature titles in the database, but to include linguistics titles relevant to foreign languages, such as the book by Terence Odlin on *Language Transfer: Cross-linguistic Influence in Language Learning* ("New Scholarly Books," 1990). Nine items fell under this category, including the book under Personal and Professional. An additional item was the announcement of a new scholarly journal, for a total of 17 items under Scholarship.

DISCUSSION

Is the glass half-full or half-empty? Is the visibility of foreign languages as evidenced in mentions in the *Chronicle* about what could be expected? One could argue that a number of factors, many of them inherent in the nature of foreign languages and literatures, militate against a high degree of visibility. As scholars of literature, many of our number publish abroad and in languages other than English, as Sammons (1976) noted, and many of the writers and works of literature we study and write about are necessarily perceived as exotic even within our own borders.

While information technology is the major bright spot in our visibility, even there only eleven of the seventy-six hits mention foreign languages prominently in the headline. The late 1991 story on using laser videodisks for selectively accessing feature films exploits a technology demonstrated by language faculty at the Air Force Academy in 1983 (Schrupp, Bush & Mueller). As noted earlier, I attempted to be as generous as possible in including mentions in the tabulations. With this in mind, let us go through the data, rigorously taking stock of the most important aspects of nontechnology-related visibility in the five-year survey.

1. One feature article in the Scholarship department.
2. Two major bylined stories under Personal and Professional that deal with the entire field of language teaching: the story on the 1988 ACTFL convention and its spinoff.
3. A half-dozen other bylined stories, including especially the story on the Monterey Institute of International Studies.
4. A half-dozen people with the ability and inclination to address intellectual and professional issues in an articulate and effective manner (Corngold, Gittleman, Ellis, Joseph, Starr, Bednar).
5. One university and two college presidents (Pacheco, Starr, Gaudiani). Pacheco was identified with foreign languages only in passing; Starr is

a Russian studies specialist for whom proficiency in another language is a prerequisite for access to source materials.

6. A handful of persons active in various newsworthy initiatives (Noblitt, Silber, Krug, Heilenman, Walz).

The ACTFL convention story was the only such story in five years. A retrospective check on microfilm through 1982–83 revealed no other stories devoted to ACTFL meetings. There were no stories on the separate conventions of the AATSP or AATF during the survey period.

The one ACTFL convention story was not carried under Scholarship, as most convention stories are, but under Personal and Professional as a story on the convention of the American Council *on the Teaching of Foreign Languages*. Similarly, only one technological hit—and in the nontechnological area only one feature story and five shorter stories—were classified under the Scholarship department. The editorial policy of the *Chronicle* reflects the conventional view represented by, among others, the NEH: the literature component of foreign-language studies is classified under the discipline of literary study, for which persons in English, in actual practice, are presumed to represent the discipline as a whole.[5] To the extent that work in the language component can be considered scholarship, it is subsumed under a subdivision of applied linguistics. Otherwise, the language component is considered a mere school subject without disciplinary status, hence its classification under the Personal and Professional, Students, and International departments. By contrast, a convention story (Heller, 1988) on the meeting of college-level composition teachers in English was carried under the Scholarship department. As I have pointed out elsewhere (1988), composition teachers in English departments are significantly ahead of their language-component counterparts in foreign language departments in constituting themselves as a discipline and claiming disciplinary status for their subject.

I made a systematic retrospective analysis by discipline of the feature stories in the Scholarship department for the five survey years from 1987 to 1992. The life sciences, including biomedical research, rated 104 feature stories, while the physical sciences and engineering rated 95. The stories identified as devoted to selected traditional disciplines outside the natural sciences are as follows: history, mainly current history, 40; social anthropology, 19; sociology, 18; political science, 11. In feature stories under Scholarship alone, these disciplines with faculty numbers equivalent to those in foreign languages (anthropology is substantially less populous) rated more bylined stories than foreign languages rated in all *Chronicle* departments combined. Feature stories under Scholarship were devoted to cultural studies, film studies, and theomusicology ("the study of theological themes in popular music" [Coughlin, 1988a]). Foreign languages and literatures rated the story on Sor Juana.

One must conclude that despite the 242 hits in the survey, the visibility of foreign languages as evidenced in the *Chronicle* still leaves a great deal to be desired. If one accepts this conclusion, one must ask what can be done to improve matters and what are the underlying causes of our low visibility. Royer and McKim (PR Prototypes, 1980) published a useful guidebook for promoting foreign-language study with emphasis on the K–12 level. Benseler (1980) saw the fragmented nature of the foreign language profession as a major factor in our "lack of visibility" and proposed the formation of a unified American Language Association for all languages at all levels, a proposal that unfortunately has never become reality. As Benseler noted, a single, unified professional association would increase our visibility by giving representatives of government, the media, and educational organizations a central and easily identifiable source to turn to for needed information. In my own view, our field is in desperate need of a multi-target-language "conference"—a professional association within a larger, unified professional association—devoted to the language component of foreign language studies at the college level. The model for such an association can be found with our counterparts in English, who in 1949 created the "Conference on College Composition and Communication" as a professional association within the all-level National Council of Teachers of English, thus providing for both unity and diversity (Lide, 1988: p. 44). A multilanguage association at the college level is more likely to achieve visibility in higher education circles, and in disciplinary rather than school-subject terms.

Our broad-scope associations—ACTFL, JNCL, NCFLS—need to devote greater effort toward achieving visibility for foreign languages at the postsecondary level. The *Chronicle* story on the 1988 ACTFL convention did not happen by accident; it came about at the instigation of someone in the ACTFL or JNCL leadership. Unfortunately, that story has remained a one-time event over the last decade. Also, members of the profession at the college level should bear in mind that the *Chronicle* is the major vehicle for our visibility within higher education. It should be aggressively exploited whenever we do anything newsworthy.

An underlying structural cause of our low visibility is the three-way subsumation of foreign-language studies under literature, linguistics, and pedagogy. Another is the tradition of harnessing the enterprise to literature rather than to business, journalism, policy studies, and communicating across language barriers. Repeatedly, the survey produced evidence of visibility for foreign languages in connection with business and public policy versus invisibility or negative publicity in the service of literature in the original language. But probably the most important reason for our invisibility is the failure of those who profess the language component to constitute their field as a discrete discipline. If film studies, composition studies, cultural studies, and theomusicology can enjoy disciplinary status, why not the language component of foreign-language studies?

Notes

1. Sammons has argued the continuing validity of his thesis since he first advanced it two decades ago; he reiterated it at the 1989 meeting of the American Association of Teachers of German.
2. A number of the *Chronicle* stories mentioned in this chapter do not refer to foreign languages. These are not included in the tabulations in Table 2.
3. Number of four-year institutions based on Table 2 in the Carnegie classification (Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, 1987: p. 4).
4. The *Faculty White Pages* give no count of the number of faculty by subject field. My figures were calculated using the following system, uniform for all fields. The *White Pages* list names and addresses in five columns, each full column containing 58 entries (plus or minus a few, depending on the number of lines per entry). The publication assigns the first page for each field a recto page with a uniform number of column inches estimated by count as containing 225 entries (again plus or minus). The second through the penultimate pages for each field were assigned 290 entries (58 x 5). On the last partially filled page for each field, each full column was assigned 58 entries, plus an actual count of the entries in any partial columns. Then 100 entries were subtracted for the four-entry gap taken by each of the initials B through Z. The formula, then, is: population = 225 + 290 x number of interior pages + final page - 100.
5. In a 1992 essay Jeffrey Peck writes, "Why do discussions of literary theory, pedagogy, and politics so often exclude the foreign languages? The answer certainly has to do with the way English departments in

America dominate and even territorialize all literary, theoretical, and cultural domains that are taught or written about in English" (p. 11).

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TA Programs: The Fit between Foreign Language Teacher Preparation and Institutional Needs

Lynn Carbón Gorell
University of Michigan
Jorge Cubillos
University of Delaware

This chapter represents part of a larger investigation that examines several major issues and practices in second and foreign language teacher education. The first phase (discussed here) is aimed at determining the fit between teacher—including teaching assistant (TA)—preparation and institutional objectives and needs in postsecondary foreign language programs across the country.[1]

Overview of TA Development Programs

Teacher education as a field has been relatively underexplored, particularly when it is compared with the increasingly available scholarship on issues such as methods and techniques for classroom teaching. Many of the articles on the topic published since 1966 consist primarily of lists of characteristics that are associated with good teaching; some coincidentally include developmental information for foreign language teachers (see, for example, Paquette, 1966; Larsen-Freeman, 1983; Alatis, Stern & Strevens, (1983); Lange, 1983; Phillips, 1989; Woodward, 1991). Bernhardt and Hammadou (1987) examined research between 1977 and 1986 on the process and preparation of foreign language teachers, and suggested that TAs know very little about either process or preparation. They tally 78 articles written on foreign and second language teacher education during those years on such topics as general position statements, teacher classroom behaviors, teaching preparation for teaching assistant and university professors, in-service opportunities, supervision, and methods courses. As Bernhardt and Hammadou note (1987), few of the seventy-eight articles were databased research, that is, quantitative studies. Included in their review of scholarship is Lanier and Little's third edition of the *Handbook on Research on Teaching* (1986) which, unlike the first two editions, does not contain any articles on foreign language education, but does include one essay on bilingual education. Bernhardt and Hammadou conclude that very little research or attention is devoted to teacher development in second languages.

Benseler and Cronjaeger (1991) provide the first comprehensive listing on the topic of TA development in foreign languages in their extensive bibliography, providing both the faculty member entrusted with TA development and the TA with information on the preparation and support of TAs. Yet of the 364 entries they list, fewer than half are concerned with programs that meet both staff and institutional needs.

Lange (1983, 1987) suggests that few data have been gathered on the kinds of TA development programs that work or do not work. Furthermore, he decries the reluctance to analyze the assumptions behind current approaches and practices. He describes the move from "teacher training," which includes familiarizing student teachers with techniques and skills to use in the classroom, to "teacher education," which encompasses theories of teaching, teacher decision making, and learning strategies for critical self-awareness and self-evaluation.[2] Because of this shift, program directors, or "teacher educators," need to reassess their current positions and practices, examining anew the assumptions underlying their own programs and practices.

In a series of articles dating from 1987, Nunan (1989, 1990) argues that TAs should be involved in curriculum development and innovation through an action-research orientation to their own classrooms. He encourages teachers to link theory and practice through observation, identification of a problem or issue, intervention, and evaluation. Wright (1987), as well as Menges and Rando (1989), suggest that teacher development programs must achieve a balance between theory and practice, particularly if theories are systematically and carefully examined. Several researchers have explored the connection between second language acquisition theories and teaching practices, suggesting that both are a necessary component of a teacher's education (DiDonato, 1983; Chaudron, 1988; Larsen-Freeman, 1989; Azevedo, 1990; Magnan, 1990; Lalande, 1991). Weimer, Svinicki, and Bauer (1989) and Rava (1987) look in particular at TAs and are concerned with designing programs that prepare them to teach.

The discrepancy between graduate students' own objectives for pursuing a degree and the courses for which they are being prepared to teach has raised many questions about the preparation such students receive prior to teaching. DiDonato (1983: p. 34) deplores the lack of preparation TAs receive, even in institutions where some attempt at TA development takes place. Based in part on his suggestions for a three-part development program (see also Pons, 1987), many institutions in the United States (such as Pennsylvania State University, the University of Oregon, Ohio State University, and the University of Virginia) now offer an orientation program or a series of workshops to prepare foreign language TAs for foreign language classroom teaching. The orientation session is frequently followed by a methods course and/or weekly meetings that are specific for the language level the TA is teaching. Typical TA preparation programs also usually include some form of TA evaluation.

The present study questions to what extent the various orientation programs focus on teaching a specific course rather than preparing the graduate student both to teach basic instruction courses and to become an excellent overall faculty member after graduation. The following research is based on a survey conducted at graduate schools where TAs are employed to teach basic instruction courses. The questions addressed include: 1) Is teacher education meant to serve just specific institutional needs? or 2) Is teacher education supposed to prepare students to become independent and self-reliant informed language professionals? and 3) To what extent do the course syllabi reflect the issues talked about in pedagogical journals today?

The research examines issues raised at orientation programs to ascertain where new TA attention is focused. Such issues include the topics dealt with in general and those that are dealt with in detail. The orientation program itself was explored to determine its scope, its length, what was taught during the orientation, and by whom it was taught.

The null hypothesis of the study is that no relationship exists between specific institutional needs and teacher preparation in foreign language programs in the United States.

Procedure

The initial phase of the investigation was diagnostic and sought to establish a profile of TA programs currently used across the country. One hundred ninety-six institutions in the United States were contacted and asked to participate in the study by submitting copies of their syllabi of TA development programs; our requests included a call for documents from orientation programs, methods courses, in-service activities, and weekly practica. Out of the initial 196 institutions, only sixty-five (about 28%—see Appendix 1) responded to the invitation by submitting requested documentation. Of the responding sixty-five institutions, twenty-four were eliminated either because they did not have a TA development program of any kind in place at the time of the survey or because they employed regular faculty or part-time personnel, neither of whom were required to attend orientation programs or methods courses.

Components of TA Programs

The survey requested participating institutions to submit information if an orientation were offered, and if so, to indicate whether it was obligatory or optional. In addition, responding institutions were asked to provide 1) a syllabus of the orientation period or course; 2) a syllabus of the methods course; 3) information specifying the duration of the course (number of weekly meetings, hours per meeting); 4) who was required to attend the course; and 5) a syllabus of the first- and second-year language programs. Only thirty-two of the sixty-five institutions surveyed (49%) have teacher development programs that combine an orientation program with a teaching methods course.

Orientation Courses

The orientation courses covered many different topics, but we were interested in seeing the extent to which those topics were discussed. Using anecdotal information from participants as well as examining syllabi, we organized the data on the orientation courses according to the following six categories:

1. Theory and Second Language Acquisition (SLA) Issues (C1) refers to the amount of theoretical information imparted at the orientation. Under this category, we include general SLA topics such as the role of

formal instruction, communicative language teaching, learning strategies, and the ACTFL Proficiency Guidelines.

2. Five Skills and Testing (C2) includes all four skills and culture, plus the testing of those skills. This category dealt specifically with the development of speaking, writing, listening, and reading skills, as well as testing and the teaching of culture.
3. Practicum (C3) refers to some form of microteaching; this category included all demonstrations and peer teaching, particularly when they dealt with course-specific syllabi or materials.
4. Administrative Information (C4) covers such things as curriculum sequencing at the institution, academic preparation of the undergraduate and graduate students, and departmental rules and regulations concerning absences, testing procedures, and the like; this category included departmental procedures and course policies.
5. Integrative Activities (C5) refers to activities that enabled the new TA to meet and interact with faculty and returning TAs; this category incorporated all scheduled opportunities for teachers to interact with each other and to develop a more personal working relationship.
6. Graduate Assistant Issues (C6) was a category added once we started our analysis, for we discovered that many universities devoted part of their orientation programs to issues such as graduate student registration procedures, drop/add mechanisms, and student advising.

The source of our figures is based on the following calculations. We speculated about what happens in the classroom on the basis of the syllabi for the various methods courses and globally assigned a number of hours to each topic. We divided the hours evenly into the stated themes; that is, if two themes were stated in the syllabus for a given day, each one was assigned half an hour; if three themes were stated, each one was assigned one third of an hour, and so forth.

On paper the institutions claim to cover the following themes. No actual "field data" were collected at any of the programs, although a follow-up study is currently under way: the institutions are being contacted for permission to gather on-site data to verify what actually does occur.

Orientation programs across the country appear to be geared toward issues pertaining exclusively to the institution at hand. A look at the correlation coefficients among the different aspects of the orientation program reveals a positive and significant correlation between the practicum <C3> and the administrative categories <C4> ($c = .588$, p .005).

Table 1

Distribution of Orientation Courses

Requests sent	196
Replied	65
No training	24
$n = 41$	

Themes	Correlations	Combined total hours	Percentage
SLA theory	C1	69.5	8.5
Five skills	C2	103.5	12.6
Practicum	C3	303	36.7
Administrative	C4	174	20.5
Integrative	C5	88.5	10.8
Graduate asst. issues	C6	90.5	11

The magnitude and significance of this correlation suggests that the orientation programs investigated have in general what we might call "an institution-specific" identity. General professional issues represent only 20% of the total orientation time. The remaining 80% is devoted to concrete activities and information specific to the institution.

In view of this evidence, we partially reject the null hypothesis. The data from these forty-one institutions suggest a relationship between the orientation programs and the specific administrative needs of each individual institution.

TA Methods Courses

The syllabi for the methods courses were analyzed and compared on the basis of the following categories, the subsets of which are like those of the orientation courses: 1) theory and SLA issues; 2) five skills and testing; 3) materials and syllabus design; and 4) practicum. The resulting data were distributed as follows.

Emphasis on SLA issues and the teaching of the five skills appears to be the norm across the country. Both categories appear to be highly associated. The correlation chart shows that SLA theory <C7> and the five skills <C8> correlated positively at the .615 level.

Table 2

Components of Methods Courses

Themes	Correlations	Combined Total Hours	Percentage
SLA	C7	288	35.8
Five skills	C8	290	36
Materials	C9	57	7
Practicum	C10	184	21

Correlations among Components of TA Development Program

	C1	C2	C3	C4	C5	C6	C7	C8	C9
C2	.530								
C3	.345	.351							
C4	.180	.054	.588						
C5	.184	.390	.089	.262					
C6	–.002	.062	.361	.474	.411				
C7	.455	.325	.201	.266	.418	.277			
C8	.269	.329	.242	.184	.333	.402	.615		
C9	.046	.309	–.121	–.225	.167	–.010	.221	.324	
C10	–.002	.042	.212	.354	.502	.356	–.011	.140	.096

The non-institution-specific nature of the methods course led us to partially uphold the null hypothesis for this aspect of teacher education programs across the country.

TA Development Programs

After isolating each aspect of the teacher development programs offered by the 41 institutions that participated in the study, we examined this issue in a global manner by combining all data from all 10 categories.

Four new variables were calculated on the basis of the sum of all related categories (C11, C12, C13, and C14). C11 represents the SLA theoretical component of TA development programs (C11 = C1 + C7); C12 is the sum of the five skills component of these programs (C12 = C2 + C8); C13 stands for the sum of hours spent on a practicum (C13 = C3 + C9); and C14 corresponds to the sum of all the components of TA development programs in all surveyed departments (C14 = C1 + C2 + C3 + C4 + C5 + C6 + C7 + C8 + C9 + C10).

Based on the information provided by the 65 institutions that responded to the survey, it appears that the average TA development program lasts just over 35 hours. This figure includes only formal development offered through orientation programs or methods courses. Instructional observations, peer reviews, conferencing, or any other form of institutional support for TAs not specifically included in the syllabi were not included in this figure (for a summary of data, see Table 3).

Table 3

Summary of Correlations for Related Variables

	C11	C12	C13	C14	C4	C5
C12	.636					
C13	.316	.458				
C4	.287	.173	.552			
C5	.426	.483	.133	.262		
C6	.235	.326	.354	.474	.411	

C11 = C1 + C7

C12 = C2 + C8

The strength of the correlations found between C11 and C12 (*r* = .636), and between C13 and C4 (*r* = .552) suggests two basic trends among TA development programs in this country: a theoretical one, characterized by emphasis on the exploration of SLA issues; and a practical one, focused on a form of practicum and institution-specific administrative concerns (See Table 4).

We see from the interquartile range that Q1 (the first quartile) was 15.48 and Q3 (the third quartile) was 54.13, which means that 50% of the observations in this study fell within this range. However, the minimum and maximum values (0.00 and 103.00) reveal the enormous variation between responding institutions (standard deviation = 24.16). The orientation mean was 17.5 hours (49% of the total), and the methods mean was 18.25 hours (51% of the total TA development time).

Table 4

Variables (C14 = C1 C10)

Variables (C14 = C1 C10)

Descriptive Statistics

	n	Mean	SD	Min	Max	Q1	Q3
	65	35.12	4.21	0.00	103.00	15.48	54.13
					Mean		Percent
Orientation					17.5		49
Methods					18.25		51

The validity of the central hypothesis of this investigation can be upheld in the light of these results (but only by the narrow margin of 1 point). A tendency to give a professional, "institution-independent" character to TA development courses appears to have emerged among graduate programs across the country. However, we must be quite cautious when interpreting these results, given the great variability observed among the responses of the participating schools.

Twenty-three institutions provided an orientation program of at least 20 hours; 19 of those 23 institutions consistently devoted more than 20 hours to their orientation. The remaining 27 institutions offered less than 20 hours, of which 11 devoted less than a total of 5 hours. Surprisingly, two Big Ten institutions, Northwestern and Ohio State, differed greatly on the number of hours offered during the orientation program, with Ohio State offering nearly 30 hours compared to Northwestern's 4 hours of orientation.

This substantial difference between programs cannot be dismissed, and, in fact, we believe that it should be a reason for concern. What is behind those differences? Do they respond just to institutional limitations, such as the number of TAs per year? Or do they reflect a lack of commitment to effective teacher preparation on the part of those institutions? Perhaps there are other problems not specifically addressed through the syllabi or anecdotal information provided by the institutions. Are TAs required to arrive one to two weeks before classes begin, and are they paid for participation in the orientation course? Is any help provided for them in finding housing? What other financial problems need to be addressed?

Teacher Development Programs: Are They Addressing the Needs of Specific Institutions or the Needs of the Profession?

Based on the previous research results, the answer to the question we pose here appears to be that institutions are meeting their own needs *and* those of the profession. On the average, institutions of higher education are attempting to address their own specific curricular needs, while supporting the professional development of their instructors. This tendency is only general, and we must stress that responses varied greatly from one institution to the next.

To investigate this tendency further we looked at the regression analysis of one of the variables in the study <C12> (the sum of <C7>, SLA theory, and <C8>, five skills and testing).

Table 5

Regression C12 1 C4 (C12 = C7 + C8)

The regression equation is C11 = 9.99 + .898 C4

Predictor	Coef	SD	*t*-ratio	*p*
Constant	9.994	2.520	3.97	0.000
C4 0.8980	0.5340	1.68	0.100	

s = 11.21 *R*-sq = .63 *R*-sq (adj) = .41

Only 6% of the variance in <C12> can be predicted in terms of variance in <C4>. As can be seen, the *p* value was not significant, and our expectation to find a strong and significant connection between institution-specific issues in the orientation course and a professional focus in the methods course was not upheld.

Based on the sample data collected in this investigation, we conclude that the tendency to have a clear shift in focus between the orientation and the methods courses is not yet the norm in colleges and universities across the country. For example, Pennsylvania State University devoted approximately three hours out of thirty to the discussion of administrative issues during orientation, while UCLA spent twelve of the sixteen hours presenting those same issues. Conversely, Pennsylvania State University dedicated over fifteen hours during orientation to discussions concerning methods and second language acquisition, while UCLA devoted fewer than four hours to the same topic.

Conclusions

Preliminary data would suggest that overall the orientation programs prepare TAs only for the immediate courses they are to teach, rather than prepare them to teach the various skills at any level. Further review of the data suggests little relation between the basic instruction programs and research currently being conducted. That is, for the most part, findings in SLA research remain at the theoretical level; little or no attempt to implement research findings into practitioners' curricula is obvious.

Additional information with data based on actual classroom observation, followed by personal interviews with faculty involved in TA development, is required before reaching conclusions. Gathering these data will be the second phase of the project. We will also examine the basic instructional syllabus in relation to current methodology and its articulation with upper-level courses.

As faculty working closely with TAs, we need to know the implications of continuing current processes and procedures. We need to establish the efficacy of efforts to prepare excellent foreign language teachers. Our contribution has to be centered on the type of course we consider necessary to establish the level of excellence we seek. For the present, a few things are clear: institutions vary tremendously in their approach to foreign language TA preparation, and few trends can be identified as overall tendencies in the practice of TA development across the country. Nevertheless, the main tendencies we have noticed so far are that 74% of the institutions do provide a combination of orientation and a methods course for a combined length of roughly thirty-five hours, that is, seventeen hours for orientation and eighteen hours for the methods course. The focus of the typical orientation course combines administrative issues and practicum, whereas the methods course focuses on SLA theory and skills.

The first set of data clearly indicates that institutions are struggling to deal with two apparently divergent goals: institutional necessity (the demands of specific basic language instruction courses) and professional desiderata (the individual needs of the graduate TAs defined in terms of foreign language pedagogy). Institutional needs appear to require abundant hands-on experience and a deliberate focus on the specific materials and syllabi of the basic language series. Professional needs appear to require extensive exposure to the theoretical aspects of second language acquisition, while tying the theory to potential future research for the TA (see, for example, Barnett & Cook, 1992; Fox, 1992). Do faculty, in fact, really influence what TAs do in the classroom by making them think about the principles and practice of teaching in sessions away from the classroom? At the heart of the dichotomy between institutional and professional needs is the issue of time. Time is not an ally of the foreign language faculty working in TA development. Most institutions have explicit TA development programs for only one semester. Given the structure of the majority of graduate study programs, it may be unrealistic to prescribe or to expect two or more semesters of TA preparation as attainable goals, although a few institutions do provide such opportunities. How much can we accomplish, then, in terms of teacher preparation in the time allotted to us?

Perhaps time is not the only issue; commitment is also involved. The question should perhaps become: How committed are institutions to promoting excellence in teaching? How much are we committed to preparing teachers who can face the challenges of language instruction in the twenty-first century? Boehrer and Sarkisian (1985) suggest that the needs of an accomplished teacher require a type of preparation that generates pedagogical self-awareness as well as exposure to current trends in foreign language instruction. Excellence in teaching, then, must include both general/theoretical and specific/practical issues. However, that ideal balance is not achieved in most universities. Apparently, some institutional practices restrict the establishment of such a balance.

At this point, we can only speculate about the nature of those restrictions. Perhaps they are due to the eternal conflict between literature and linguistics. Or they may result from a lack of awareness on the part of the teacher developer. A quick look at the most current *MLA Job Information List* (1992) would indicate that too many positions are offered in which the primary expertise expected is in a literary field, but the candidate is also expected to have a pedagogical background in order to coordinate basic instruction. This discrepancy in the job descriptions clearly points to a lack of preparation teacher developers must necessarily bring to the job of preparing new TAs. Is it any wonder, then, that TAs receive little pedagogical preparation to prepare them to become excellent overall teachers?

What we have found in our research so far is a fairly heavy concentration on the preparation of teachers to serve the curricular needs of the specific institution that employs them. This pattern needs to change if we are going to be truly committed to preparing independent language instructors. Most programs are not currently preparing TAs to make informed choices; instead they are taught to "apply" teaching techniques. Christine Uber Grosse (1993) points out, for instance, that the topic of "Theories of Language Learning" appears in only 47% of the programs she surveyed, with an average time of 1.2 weeks spent on the topic, while "Methods" appears over 76% of the time, with an average of 1.09 weeks spent discussing the topic, the largest amount of time among the top five methods course topics.

While the next phase of our research has yet to be completed, a glance at the articles appearing in a list of 14 journals from 1988 to 1991 indicates that the contents of 170 articles in 12 different journals (36% of the total number of articles) dealt with the five skills and testing. Seventy-four articles in the 12 journals (15%) dealt with materials development and evaluation, such as evaluation of textbooks, multimedia instructional materials, or computer-assisted instruction (see Appendix 2). Clearly, over 51% of the journals are addressing specific issues that are tangible, hands-on, and as Ellis (1985) refers to it, experiential as opposed to awareness raising. According to published research, our efforts should be aimed at skill development, valid testing procedures and materials, strategy training, and proficiency orientation. While the journals use the term "proficiency," reference is clearly intended to any and all communicative approaches, under which the proficiency orientation per se would be subsumed. Many institutions show limited awareness and/or concern for these issues. Perhaps they sin by omission, but it is possible there is more behind those curricular choices. Our ongoing research will continue to analyze institution-specific versus professional issues by looking at the syllabi and their relation to the orientation and methods courses.

Notes

1. A shortened version of this chapter was first presented at the annual meeting of the American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages, held in Chicago in November 1992. We are grateful to Howard Altman and David Benseler for their helpful comments and remarks.
2. Please refer to Keith Mason's (1992) article, in which he outlines a proposal for a graduate seminar designed to develop and train the graduate student who will ultimately become a program director.

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Appendix 1

Institutions and Departments Submitting Requests for Orientation and Methods Courses

University	French	German	Slavic	Spanish	Italian
University of Akron	X			X	
University of Albany	X				
University of Arizona	X			X	X
Boston College	X			X	X
Brown University				X	
University of California					
Los Angeles	X			X	
Santa Barbara	X			X	
Carnegie Mellon	X			X	
Catholic University	X			X	
University of Cincinnati				X	
Colorado State University				X	
Columbia University				X	
University of Delaware				X	
Emory	X			X	
Georgetown University	X	X			

Appendix 1 ***continued***

University	French	German	Slavic	Spanish	Italian
University of Georgia	X				
Highline	X				
Illinois State University	X			X	
Indiana University	X				X
University of Iowa	X	X		X	
University of Kansas		X			
University of Maryland	X			X	
University of Massachusetts	X				
University of Michigan	X				
Michigan State University		X			
Michigan Technological University	X				
Middlebury College	X			X	
University of Minnesota	X				
New Mexico State University				X	
University of North Carolina	X	X		X	
Northwestern University	X			X	
Ohio University				X	
Ohio State University	X			X	
University of Oregon	X			X	X
Pennsylvania State University	X	X		X	X
University of Rochester	X	X		X	
Southern Illinois University Carbondale	X	X		X	
Stanford University				X	
University of South Carolina				X	
University of Texas, Arlington		X			
University of Utah	X	X		X	
University of Virginia	X			X	
University of Wisconsin	X		X		

Appendix 2

Pedagogical Content of Selected Journals

THEMES

A: Learner Styles & Strategies: Personality; MBTI; Anxiety

B: Skills: Write; Read; Listen; Speak; Culture Testing

C: Linguistic Issues: Interlanguage; Linguistic Competence

D: Learning Issues: Proficiency; L/R Brain; Deductive/Inductive Approaches; Attrition; Grammar Games; Feedback

E: Materials: Texbook Evaluation; Adapting Text; CAI; Multimedia

F: Curriculum Development: TA Training; TA Development

JOURNAL	A	B	C	D	E	F	Total
SSLA	1	4	3	8	0	0	16
System	2	9	1	0	3	5	520
Hispania	0	11	1	16	4	2	232
Unterrichtspraxis	1	3	0	2	2	1	9
LangTstng	0	5	0	0	0	0	5
MLJ	1	4	0	1	0	0	6
TesolQ	1	9	1	5	1	5	22
LangLrng	2	3	2	4	0	2	13
FLAnnals	15	37	0	7	27	20	106
FrenRev	2	30	0	0	1	0	33
IRAL	4	18	40	7	1	0	70
CMLR	6	37	8	31	35	13	130
Totals	35	170	56	81	74	48	464
Percent	7%	36%	12%	17%	15%	10%	

The "Culture and Commerce" of the Foreign Language Textbook: A Preliminary Investigation

L. Kathy Heilenman and Erwin Tschirner
University of Iowa

A seldom discussed aspect of the dynamics of foreign language program direction is the role of foreign language program directors (FLPDs) in the development and publication of materials and textbooks.[1] Both directly, through the authoring and reviewing of foreign language textbooks (Bragger, 1985), and indirectly, through influence on textbook selection, FLPDs help to shape the textbooks produced by major publishers. We do not mean, of course, that all foreign language textbooks are authored by FLPDs, nor do we imply that FLPDs play a role analogous to that attributed to "adoption states" regarding the production of elementary and high school textbooks (Cody, 1992). However, by virtue of their professional responsibilities, FLPDs are in positions of influence in regard to the production of college-level foreign language textbooks. Further, the complex relationship between FLPDs, materials' development, the academic reward system, and commercial as well as noncommercial educational publishing has yet to be investigated in any but a cursory manner, a situation that is not unique to foreign languages.

One way of looking at the issues underlying the production of foreign language textbooks is to see them as the proverbial icebergs where the visible tip constitutes only a modest indication of the size and complexity of that which can be found beneath. As Apple (1985, 1991) and others

(Blystone, 1987; Cronbach, 1955a; Walker, 1981; Woodward, Elliott & Nagel, 1988) have pointed out, textbooks are ubiquitous artifacts of schools and education. Despite their general availability, however, we know very little about how textbooks function within the complex of human, political, economic, and sociological relations in which they take part (Apple 1985, 1986, 1989, 1991).

The research that does exist tends to focus on three areas. First, it examines relatively discrete issues such as readability (Chall & Conard, 1991), textbook selection (Fetsko, 1992), textbook bias/censorship (DelFattore, 1992; Pratt, 1972), or textbook analysis, the latter often tending toward criticism of the status quo (Koval & Staver, 1985). Second, the research provides overviews of the publishing process along with advice for prospective authors (Benjaminson, 1992; Brock, 1985; Luey, 1990). Third, the research discusses textbooks and curriculum (Apple, 1991; Cronbach, 1955), the textbook as a unique form of document (De Castell, Luke & Luke, 1989; Olson, 1980), or the forces shaping and limiting instructional materials (Goldstein, 1978). Interest in this third area has increased within the last few years, as evidenced by the appearance of collections of articles dealing with the textbook as a complex and central issue in education (Altbach, Kelly, Petrie & Weis, 1991; Elliott & Woodward, 1990; Herlihy, 1992), as well as the publication of an annotated bibliography (Woodward, Elliott & Nagel, 1988).

However, there have been relatively few attempts to provide quantitative and qualitative insights into the realities of textbook production and use (Chall & Conard, 1991). Notable exceptions have been Coser, Kadushin, and Powell's (1982) study of the publishing industry; Arnold's (1989) investigation of the selection criteria, sources of information, and attitudes toward textbooks on the part of university faculty; Blystone and Barnard's (1988) analysis of biology textbooks; Blystone, Barnard, and Golimowski's (1990) survey of college biology textbook authors; Sykes' (1991) survey of faculty attitudes toward textbooks as scholarship; and Nitsche's (1992) study of student opinion of high school social studies textbooks. In addition, a survey of members of the Textbook Authors Association (TAA), "Fact-Finding Questionnaire Results" (1991), has provided information with regard to income provided by textbook writing, royalty rates, and contract negotiation, as well as comments on the textbook production process.

Work done on foreign language textbooks mirrors this situation. There have been studies of bias and censorship (Schmitz, 1975), recommendations as to textbook selection (Rivers, 1981), and analyses of textbook content (Ramirez & Hall, 1990; Schulz, 1991), as well as discussions of the usefulness of textbooks in general (Allwright, 1981). Ariew (1982), Kramsch (1988), and Heilenman (1991) discuss foreign language textbooks as social artifacts reflecting "negotiated compromises" (Heilenman, 1991: p. 110) between various groups. More specifically, Kramsch has described textbooks as culturally coded constructs that bring together various people including scholars, educators, publishers, and students, and Heilenman (1991, 1993) discusses the "text-teacher-student trilogy" (Sticht, 1955) and offers an analysis of the academic reward system as it impacts on textbook authors. To our knowledge, however, and as is largely the case with textbooks in general, quantitative and/or qualitative research studies dealing with foreign language textbooks remain to be done. The purpose of the present study is to examine the context within which foreign language textbooks, here French and German college-level textbooks, are produced. Who writes these textbooks? What motivates their authors? Who actually produces the ancillary material (for example, workbooks, computer assisted instruction [CAI], video, and the like) that accompanies textbooks? How have authors fared from both a professional and a financial point of view? And finally, what kinds of relationships have they established with educational publishers?

Gathering such information serves two purposes: first, it gives prospective textbook authors a sense of the terrain; second, it provides preliminary answers to many questions that heretofore have been answered only by informal anecdote, if at all.

Information and advice found in guides and overviews such as Benjaminson (1992), Brock (1985), and Luey (1990) might lead us to expect several results from such a study. First, we would expect to find few nontenured, tenure-track faculty members writing textbooks. Here, both factors of time and prestige come into play. In general, textbooks are not equated with scholarship in the academic world and, although Boyer (1990) has recently and persuasively argued for the legitimacy of textbook writing as academic work, the majority of academics appear to be unpersuaded. As Tyson-Bernstein (1988: p. 194) puts it, "[R]eal scholars don't write textbooks" (see Arnold, 1989; Heilenman, 1991, 1993; and Sykes, 1991 for a discussion of these and similar issues). In addition, textbook writing is extremely time-consuming. Brock (1985) estimates the time to complete a textbook at around 2,120 hours, the equivalent of more than a year of full eight-hour days and five-day weeks. Such a time commitment would mean that a tenure-track academic would have that much less time to dedicate to the establishment of a more traditional research program (Arnold, 1989); or, as an academic biologist interviewed by Lewis (1992: p. 20) noted, "Nobody seeking tenure can possibly have the time to write a textbook!"

Thus, on the one hand, we might expect to find already tenured faculty members as well as non-tenure-track instructors and lecturers among the ranks of textbook authors. Similarly, we would expect to find textbook authors holding academic positions, on the one hand, at large research institutions, and, on the other hand, at small liberal arts colleges. This expectation follows from two conditions. First, as Bierstedt (1955) notes, all else being equal, publishers will prefer authors who exert some control over the market, either by virtue of supervising large programs or by virtue of visibility in the profession. Second, and working against the market forces cited above, given the disincentives for textbook writing already in place at such large research institutions, publishers may be more successful finding authors at smaller liberal arts or community colleges where textbook writing is more likely to represent a legitimate (in terms of academic advancement) goal (Lichtenberg, 1992; Martin, 1992).

Motivation for writing textbooks is more difficult to predict. Blystone, Barnard, and Golimowski's (1990) survey of 15 authors of college, introductory-level biology textbooks published between 1982 and 1987 reveals that dissatisfaction with already available texts was mentioned by one-half of their respondents, while one-third mentioned financial profit as a motive. Brock (1985) cites several rewards that accrue from authoring a textbook. These include, in no particular order, professional advancement, personal satisfaction, fame, recognition, and money. An additional possibility is that the initial impetus comes less from the authors themselves than from the publishing house involved (often in the person of sales representatives). Textbook publishers, in contrast to trade publishers or academic presses, prefer helping to develop textbooks rather than merely receiving completed manuscripts (Brock, 1985; Luey, 1990). This desire results directly from the greater amount of money and advance costs involved in developing a textbook, especially an introductory one (Brock, 1985; Lichtenberg, 1992; Luey, 1990), along with the need to ensure, as far as possible, that the venture turns a profit.[2] At this point, it is perhaps important to emphasize that, as Tibbetts and Tibbetts (1982: p. 855) have put it, "In this account, there are no villains." The textbook, as an economic commodity in a capitalist market, is subject to competition, to market pressures, and to the need to return a profit (Apple, 1991). In order to respond to these pressures and to ensure, insofar as possible, profitability, textbook publishers are constrained to produce a marketable product.[3] Textbook editors, in turn, respond to these pressures, to varying degrees, by "creat[ing] their own book" (Apple, 1989: p. 284; see also Lichtenberg, 1992: pp. 14–15). Silverman (1991: p. 168), an acquisitions editor with a major textbook publisher, describes the situation as follows:

> Authors can be actively sought or they can come unbidden via a phone call, a letter addressed "To the Editor," or through other unplanned encounters. Although a large number of unsolicited ("over the transom") proposals and manuscripts arrive in the mail, most of these either do not fit the publishing plan or do not meet the requirements and standards of the company (or the particular editor). Thus, most book proposals that are eventually accepted for publication (my totally unscientific guess is approximately seventy to eighty percent) are written by authors with whom the editor has had prior contact.

Assuming that author(s) and publisher are in agreement as to the essential shape of the textbook-to-be, a contract is drawn up and presented to the author(s) to sign. Here, although we might be able to draw conclusions from the advice given by various writers (Benjaminson, 1992; Brock, 1985; Luey, 1990), we have relatively little information as to what textbook authors actually do when faced with a contract.[4] Do textbook authors, as suggested, actually view the contract as a "basis for negotiation" (Brock, 1985: p. 160) or do they accept it as presented? If they do negotiate, what issues do they find important and how successful are their negotiations? Are the royalty rates offered by publishers nonnegotiable or are they, too, subject to negotiation? There is also the question of amount: when is a royalty rate insulting, reasonable, or even generous? We are aware of little information, other than anecdotes, that bears on any but the last question. Here, Brock (1985) states that 15% of net (the publisher's net proceeds) is reasonable, while Luey (1990) contends that 15% of list (approximately 18.5% of net) is the upper limit for textbooks. This last figure agrees with those advanced by Keedy and Lennie (cited in Blum, 1991), who cite a range of 10% to 18.75% of net, with 15% being a common figure for textbook royalties.[5] Data collected from 89 college textbook authors ("Fact-Finding Questionnaire Results," 1991) who were members of the Textbook Authors Association (TAA), although difficult to interpret clearly since the questionnaire did not differentiate between royalties based on list versus net, indicate a range of figures between 10% and 20% for fixed royalty figures with the mean, median, and mode all being at 15%. Escalating royalties were reported to range between 10% and 16% for the low figure (mean and median = 12.5, mode = 10%) and between 12% and 21% for the high figure (mean = 16%, median and mode = 15%).

Further financial concerns for textbook authors include advances against royalties, payment for artwork, photographs, permissions for using others' material, indexing, compilation of end-vocabulary lists, and expenses incurred while writing the book (for example, telephone, postage, and photocopying bills). Advances are important since they tend to reflect a publisher's commitment to the project and since they provide the author with funds at the beginning of the project. Keedy and Lennie (cited in Blum, 1991: p. A11) suggest that textbook authors attempt to "obtain at least half the expected royalties from the first edition, or the total of the projected first year's royalties" as an advance. Brock (1985: p. 167) contends that expenses incurred while writing the book (for example, telephone, postage, and photocopying bills) should be borne by the publisher rather than the author and that such a provision should be written into the contract: "a matter of principle here is that no items should be required by the publisher that involve out-of-pocket costs to the author that are not repaid by the publisher. Unprompted, many publishers are quite willing to let the author bear the cost of many publishing details. Since the publisher incorporates all its own costs for the production of the book into the final price, there is no reason why the author's costs should not also be included." An alternate view of this process holds that publishers, rather than simply adding up their costs and then establishing a book price that ensures a suitable profit margin, instead first establish a rough final price that takes current market conditions into account, and then work backward from that price in order to decide if a project is indeed feasible (English, 1993b; Silverman, 1991).

Questions concerning responsibility for end-vocabulary lists and indexing should also be settled early, as should concerns regarding responsibility for obtaining and paying for permissions. Benjaminson (1992: p. 84), for example, contends that "in the case of a heavily illustrated book, merely requesting the permissions can mean almost as much work as writing the text." In the case of foreign language textbooks, which are increasingly coming to depend on realia and authentic documents, it should come as no surprise that obtaining permissions can also be expensive.

The cost of producing ancillaries is another important issue. During the last 10 years or so, the provision of ancillaries (test banks, role-play cards, CAI, and so on) by publishers has become all but universal. Since these package components are usually provided to adopters at no cost, responsibility for their production becomes, in effect, one of the expenses of producing the textbook package. Nevertheless, the question remains, who absorbs their cost: the publisher, the author(s), or both?

Once contractual issues are settled, the question of reviews remains. Luey (1990) points out that the reviewing process used in textbook publishing differs in important ways from that used by university presses engaged in scholarly publishing. Outside reviews, commissioned by the publishing company and completed by potential users as well as specialists in the field have, according to Brock (1985: p. 29), three major purposes: 1) to decide if the book is worth publishing; 2) to serve as a means of obtaining information on the book's marketability; and 3) to verify the book's accuracy and coverage. Reviews are done at various stages in the text's development, and authors are expected to revise and shape their work with reviewers' comments in mind. One-half of the 15 authors of introductory biology textbooks surveyed (Blystone, Barnard & Golimowski, 1990) mentioned the role of reviewers and market surveys in guiding their efforts. Blystone, Barnard, and Golimowski point out that it is not uncommon to find between fifty and 100 reviewers acknowledged in the front matter, a number that represents a significant increase over the last twenty years.[6] This large number of reviewers, most of whom review only portions of the textbook, serves three purposes. First, it serves to market the book since it involves distributing manuscript copies to people teaching the course for which the textbook is being written, both as representatives of the market (Silverman, 1991) and as potential adopters (Blystone, Barnard & Golimowski, 1990). Second, it serves to reduce uncertainty for editors when they attempt to decide which books to publish. Third, the process serves to guide textbook development so that as many people as possible might be satisfied and as few as possible offended. Fourth, although reviewers are frequently explicitly absolved of all responsibility for the content and form of the textbook, the very presence of their names may well implicitly suggest an endorsement of the material to which their names are appended.

Another issue concerns relationships between foreign language textbook authors and the people who make their living in commercial educational publishing. Given that textbook publishing houses are commercial institutions operating for profit as well as to improve educational quality, their employees tend to see the world differently than do members of the academy. Again, we emphasize that there are no "villains." Rather, differing ways exist to view the same object—the textbook—that are less issues of right or wrong than they are of appropriate or inappropriate given the context (see Heilenman, 1993, for further discussion).

One result of this state of affairs is that editors for commercial textbook publishers may indeed have different perspectives than do editors working for university presses, perhaps because they have tended to arrive at their present positions via different routes. Coser, Kadushin, and Powell (1982: p. 101), for example, point out that nearly three-quarters of college textbook editors actually have their career origins in sales and/or marketing. Luey (1990: pp. 113–14) characterizes the situation in the following terms:

> One result of the primacy of financial considerations is that textbook acquiring editors tend to be different sorts of people than university press editors. Usually they have arrived in the acquisitions department via sales and marketing rather than manuscript editing or academia. If all publishers are on a continuum between the worlds of scholarship and business, textbook editors are closer to the business end. A psychologist talking to the psychology editor of a university press will find the conversation running toward psychology; the same person talking to a textbook editor will end up discussing the market and rival texts. There are exceptions, of course, and some editors move between the two worlds. But on the whole, you will find that textbook publishing has an aura far removed from that of academe.

Generally, foreign language textbook authors will deal with several different people in the publishing house.[7] Acquisitions editors usually seek out authors, shepherd manuscripts through the decision-making process, and oversee the entire project (Silverman, 1991). Developmental editors tend to work with the manuscript as it, quite literally, develops, and depending on individual circumstances, may have more or less influence on the final product. Copy editors read the manuscript, edit it for consistency, accuracy, and style, and insert typesetting instructions. Photo researchers provide photographs from various sources, while artists provide line art. Finally, personnel in marketing are responsible for selling the textbook (providing publicity, working with the sales force, providing examination copies, and so on). Again, although we have a fair idea of the way the process is supposed to work, we have little or no information, other than anecdotes, concerning textbook authors' actual interaction with publishing personnel.

Thus, the study to be reported here uses a survey format to gather data concerning: 1) the identity of college-level French and German textbook authors; 2) their motives for engaging in textbook writing; 3) the process by which they began their textbook projects; 4) contracts, royalties, and expenses; 5) the production of ancillaries; 6) the impressions these authors formed of the textbook personnel with whom they came in contact; 7) their relationship with coauthors; and 8) the effect of textbook writing on tenure and promotion processes.

Method

A questionnaire was developed concerning author demographics, motivation, contact with publishers, contract negotiations with publishers, royalties, costs, ancillaries, and perceptions regarding publishing personnel and coauthor(s). In addition, respondents were asked for "pleasant/unpleasant surprises" involved with their most recent textbook or textbook revision, and for three pieces of advice they would give a colleague who was considering a textbook project (see Appendix). They were also asked about the effect of having written a textbook (textbooks) on their own promotion and tenure. In addition, a follow-up questionnaire queried respondents as to the categorization of their institution (for example, research university or liberal arts college) and their own rank. In those cases where information given on the initial questionnaire was either incomplete or ambiguous, a follow-up requested clarification (see Appendix).

The first questionnaire was sent to 49 authors of first- or second-year college French textbooks and 46 authors of first- or second-year college German textbooks.[8] These authors were identified via perusal of 1992 publisher catalogs. The initial survey sample thus represented as nearly as possible the total population of French and German first- and second-year textbook authors with textbooks currently being actively marketed. Respondents were asked to give information and impressions dealing *only* with their latest textbook project. Overall response rate for the initial questionnaire was 41 out of 95 or 43% (French: 49%, German: 40%). Overall response rate for the follow-up questionnaire was 66% (n = 15 French, 63%; n = 12 German, 71%). Thus, the total sample consisted of responses to 41 initial questionnaires plus responses to 27 follow-up questionnaires.

Results

Responses were coded and entered into statistics programs (SYSTAT 5.2.1, 1992; Data Desk 3.0, 1988) for further analysis. Openended comments were quantified where possible (for example, number of pleasant or unpleasant surprises) and analyzed qualitatively otherwise. Effects were considered to be significant when they fell at or below the .05 level.

Demographics

Overall, the sample was comprised of roughly equal numbers of authors of French (n = 24; 59%) and German (n = 17; 42%) textbooks; of first- (n = 21; 54%) and second- (n = 18; 46%) year textbooks; and of first (n = 21; 55%) as well as later (n = 17; 45%) editions.[9] Although respondents were not asked for rank at the time they wrote the textbook in question, current rank and the fact that they were asked to respond with regard only to their latest textbook project indicate that, for this sample, few nontenured, tenure-track assistant or associate professors were textbook authors (see Table 1).

Table 1

Current Academic Rank of French and German College-Textbook Authors

Academic rank	German		French		Total	
Full professor (tenured)	3	(11%)	10	(37%)	13	(48%)
Associate professor (tenured)	3	(11%)	1	(4%)	4	(15%)
Tenure-track faculty (untenured)	3	(11%)	1	(4%)	4	(15%)
Non-tenure-track faculty	2	(7%)	4	(15%)	6	(22%)

The majority of respondents characterized their current place of employment as a "research university" (n = 15; 56%) or a "comprehensive university/college" (n = 7; 26%), while four (15%) said that they were currently working in a liberal arts college, and one (4%) stated that he or she was employed in a community college. As was the case with rank, respondents were not asked about place of employment during the time they wrote the textbook in question. Again, however, since respondents were asked to respond only in relation to their latest textbook project and, given the fact that all textbooks were currently being actively marketed, it seems reasonable to expect that, for the majority of respondents, current employment was the same as employment at the time at which the textbooks in question were being written and produced. Selected demographics (language, first-year versus second-year, and first edition versus later editions) were examined in regard to all questionnaire items. In only a few cases were significant differences found. Thus, for the majority of items, aggregate figures are reported; in those few cases where differences in regard to language, year, or edition were found, they are also reported.[10] Although there appears to be a greater percentage of full professors in the French than in the German sample, the difference does not reach statistical significance, chi-square (1) = 10.2, $p = .07$.

Motivation

The majority of authors cited a desire to affect foreign language instruction ($n = 36$; 88%) or dissatisfaction with material on the market ($n = 22$; 54%) as motivating factors in their textbook projects. Only 14 (34%) claimed financial gain as a motivating factor. Authors of first-year texts were significantly more likely to express financial gain as a motivation than were authors of second-year textbooks (28% of the sample for first-year as compared to 8% for second-year), chi-square (1) = 5.4, $p = .02$.[11] In addition, many authors cited a publisher's request as a reason for writing/revising their textbook ($n = 27$; 66%).[12]

Initiating the Textbook Project

Similarly, initiation of discussion of the textbook project was unlikely to have originated with the author. Only five respondents (12%) indicated that they originated such a discussion, with the remainder citing the publishing house ($n = 24$; 59%) or another author ($n = 10$; 24%) as the source. The majority of respondents submitted both a proposal ($n = 28$; 68%) and sample chapters ($n = 31$; 76%) to the publisher. Thirty-one percent ($n = 13$) sent a letter, with authors of first-year textbooks being less likely to do so than authors of second-year textbooks, chi-square (1) = 4.2, $p = .04$, a result for which no likely explanation presents itself.[13] No author sent a complete or nearly complete manuscript to a publisher in the initial phase of discussion.

Contracts

Over half of those responding indicated that they did indeed negotiate their contracts ($n = 23$; 61%). Forty percent, however, did not, apparently signing the contract as first offered. Those items that were negotiated generally met with success.[14] Except for control of copyright (which was unsuccessfully negotiated by only one respondent), authors who did negotiate royalties, advances, grants, expenses, coauthors' agreements, and permissions were overwhelmingly successful (mean $n = 13$; mean percent = 90% success rate).[15]

Royalties

The majority of authors reported receiving textbook royalties based on net price ($n = 29$; 78%), with eight (22%) reporting royalties based on list price. Twenty-three (62%) authors reported fixed royalty rates, while fourteen (38%) reported escalating rates. Tables 2 and 3 give reported royalty figures for textbooks and workbooks/laboratory manuals.

Table 2

Self-Reported Royalties on Textbooks (in Percentages)

	N	Median	Mean	(SD)	Mode	Range
Fixed, based on net price	15	12	12.4	(2.1)	12	8–15
Fixed, based on list price	8	13.5	13.0	(2.3)	12/15	10–15
Escalating, based on net price, low figure	14	10	10.1	(1.5)	10	8–15
Escalating, based on net price, high figure	14	13.5	13.5	(1.8)	12	10.5–17

Table 3

Self-Reported Royalties on Workbooks/Laboratory Manuals (in Percentages)

	N	Median	Mean	(SD)	Mode	Range
Fixed, based on net price	15	10	9.4	(2.1)	10	5–12.5
Fixed, based on list price	5	8	9.2	(1.8)	8	8–12
Escalating, based on net price, low figure	3	8.5	8.5	(3.5)	12	5–12
Escalating, based on net price, high figure	3	10.5	11.8	(2.8)	5/8.5/12	5–12

In theory, royalties based on list prices are lower than those based on net prices (Brock, 1985; Luey, 1990). The figures reported by our respondents, however, indicate the opposite (median fixed list royalty figure = 13.5%; median fixed net royalty figure = 12%). Here, it seems likely that respondents were either unsure of exactly how their royalties were calculated or were not cognizant of the difference between net and list price. This apparent confusion makes the drawing of any overall conclusions from the data difficult.

Nevertheless, and keeping in mind our caveat about the difficulty respondents seemed to have had in responding to the questions concerning royalties, we found a significant difference in reported royalties based on net according to language any year. Royalty rates based on net tended to be higher for French textbooks than for German textbooks (French mean = 14.2%; German mean = 11.5%, $t\,[11] = -3.3$, $p = .007$) and for first-year textbooks than for second-year textbooks (first-year mean = 14%; second-year mean = 11.3%, $t\,[12] = 3.1$, $p = .009$). Table 4 sets out this relationship.

Table 4

Royalty Rates by Language and Year (Net Price)

Royalty rate (%)	Language and year	N	(%)
8%	German second year	1	(7%)
10%	German second year	2	(13%)
12%	German first and second year; French second year	7	(5%)
14%	French second year	1	(7%)
15%	German first year; French first year	4	(27%)

Expenses

Table 5 presents data concerning the sharing of expenses involved in textbook production. Foreign language textbook authors are apparently likely to take responsibility for the preparation of both the index and the end vocabulary list. Publishers, on the other hand, are likely to take responsibility for artwork and photographs. Other expenses seem to vary, perhaps depending on factors such as distance between publisher and authors (and among coauthors) and the complexity of the project.

Table 5

Responsibility for Expenses of Producing the Textbook

Expense	Author		Publisher		Shared	
Preparation of end-vocabulary list	26	(70%)	11	(30%)	0	(0%)
Preparation of index	23	(68%)	11	(32%)	0	(0%)
Equipment	8	(53%)	5	(33%)	2	(13%)
Postage	17	(43%)	19	(48%)	4	(10%)
Telephone	15	(38%)	21	(53%)	4	(10%)
Permissions	14	(36%)	19	(49%)	6	(15%)
Author meetings	8	(25%)	22	(69%)	2	(6%)
Photographs	6	(15%)	32	(80%)	2	(5%)
Artwork	5	(13%)	33	(85%)	1	(3%)

Responsibility for Ancillaries

Overall, as Table 6 demonstrates, workbooks, laboratory manuals, and instructor's manuals seem to be the most common items in foreign language textbook packages for which authors are likely to take responsibility. Publishers, on the other hand, are likely to shoulder the burden of producing transparencies, video, and CAI. Other components (for example, roleplay cards, tests, and readers) are apparently dependent on situational variables and are nearly as likely to be the author's as the publisher's responsibility.[16]

We found a significant difference between the likelihood of authors being responsible for the production of the workbook and laboratory manual and the edition of the book involved (workbook, chi-square [1] = 4.4, $p = .04$; laboratory manual, chi-square [1] = 4.8, $p = .03$), with authors of later editions of textbooks being more likely to be responsible for workbooks and laboratory manuals than authors of first editions.[17] Although the small sample size makes this difference difficult to interpret, it may reflect authors' recent inability or refusal to take on more work in regard to ancillaries. However, authors of first editions were more likely to take responsibility for preparing the end-vocabulary list than were authors of later editions, chi-square (1) = 5.5, $p = .02$, perhaps a reflection of later-edition authors' experience and negotiating ability.[18]

Table 6

Responsibility for Ancillaries

Ancillary	Author		Publisher		Totals (% of respondents citing, *n* = 41)	
Instructor's manual	25	(96%)	1	(4%)	26	(63%)
Annotated instructor's edition	20	(87%)	3	(13%)	23	(56%)
Workbook	24	(73%)	9	(27%)	33	(80%)
Laboratory manual	19	(68%)	9	(32%)	28	(68%)
Reader	4	(57%)	3	(43%)	7	(17%)
Tests	9	(41%)	13	(59%)	21	(51%)
Role-play cards	3	(38%)	5	(63%)	8	(20%)
Transparencies	4	(25%)	12	(75%)	16	(39%)
Video	2	(18%)	8	(82%)	10	(24%)
CAI	3	(17%)	15	(83%)	18	(44%)

Relationship with Publishing House Personnel

Table 7 gives respondents' overall judgments as to helpfulness and knowledge in areas of the foreign language and culture and foreign language pedagogy attributed to acquisition and developmental editors. In addition, judgments of knowledge of the foreign language and culture of copy editors, and overall judgments as to the value of the photo researcher and artist assigned to the textbook project, are given here, as well as respondents' evaluations of marketing efforts in regard to their textbook projects.

In general, respondents characterized their impressions of publishing house personnel as between "adequate" and "good" (mean responses between 2 and 3). Exceptions on the positive side were "helpfulness" for the acquisition and developmental editors (mean response between 3 "good," and 4, "excellent"). Responses were, however, characterized by a fair amount of variation, and significant differences were found between opinions expressed by French and German textbook authors as well as between opinions expressed by first- and second-year textbook authors. Authors of French textbooks were more likely to report a positive experience than were authors of German textbooks with both the developmental

Table 7

Respondents' Impressions of Publishing House Personnel

	Poor	Adequate	Good	Excellent	Mean (SD)
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	
Acquisitions Editor					
Helpfulness	1 (3%)	6 (19%)	12 (39%)	12 (39%)	3.1 (.9)
Language	9 (29%)	7 (23%)	12 (39%)	3 (10%)	2.3 (.9)
Pedagogical	7 (23%)	9 (29%)	12 (39%)	3 (10%)	2.3 (.9)
Cultural	9 (29%)	8 (26%)	11 (36%)	3 (10%)	2.2(1.0)
Developmental Editor					
Helpfulness	2 (6%)	6 (18%)	9 (26%)	17 (50%)	3.2(1.0)
Language	3 (9%)	10 (30%)	10 (30%)	10 (30%)	2.8(1.0)
Pedagogy	5 (15%)	8 (24%)	14 (42%)	6 (18%)	2.6(1.0)
Cultural	3 (9%	12 (36%)	10 (30%)	8 (24%)	2.6(1.0)
Copy Editor					
Language	6 (19%)	9 (28%)	6 (19%)	11 (34%)	2.7(1.1)
Cultural	6 (20%)	8 (27%)	6 (20%)	10 (33%)	2.7(1.2)
Photo Researcher					
	7 (29%)	6 (25%)	8 (33%)	3 (13%)	2.3(1.0)
Artist					
	10 (40%)	7 (28%)	5 (20%)	3 (12%)	2.0(1.1)
Marketing					
	8 (23%)	4 (11%)	12 (34%)	11 (31%)	2.7(1.1)

and the copy editor in terms of language and cultural knowledge. Twenty-seven percent of the total sample was represented by authors of French textbooks who responded "excellent" to this question, while another 27% of the total sample was represented by authors of German textbooks who responded "adequate" or "poor," chi-square (3) = 9.6, *p* = .02; *t* (21) = –3.1, *p* = .006. Similarly, 31% of the sample consisted of authors of French textbooks who found copy editors' language knowledge "excellent," while German textbook authors who found their skills "poor" made up 19% of the sample, chi-square (3) = 13.9, *p* = .003; *t* (26) = –4.6, *p* = .000.

Perception of the cultural knowledge exhibited by copy editors was similarly skewed, with 30% of the sample consisting of authors of French textbooks who found such knowledge "excellent" and 20% of the sample consisting of authors of German textbooks who found it "poor," chi-square (3) = 12.3, *p* = .006; *t* (26) = –4.0, *p* = .000. Finally, authors of first-year textbooks were significantly more likely to have found acquisitions editors helpful (eight, or 27%, responding "excellent") than were authors of second-year textbooks (three, or 10%, responding excellent), chi-square (3) = 9.3, *p* = .03; *t* (2) = 2.2, *p* = .03.

Coauthor(s)

Respondents were overwhelmingly positive concerning their experience with coauthor(s), characterizing it as "excellent" in 65% of the cases (*n* = 24) and as "good" in 22% (*n* = 8). Only 14% (*n* = 5) characterized this relationship as "poor" or "adequate."

Tenure and Promotion

Of forty responses, most were classified as "negative" (*n* = 18, 45%) in regard to the effect textbook authorship had on issues of tenure and promotion, followed by 10 classified as "positive" (25%), 6 classified as "not applicable" (15%), and 6 classified as "mixed" (15%). A significant, chi-square (6) = 17.4, *p* = .008, relationship was found between type of institution at which authors were employed and their characterization of the effect authoring a textbook had on tenure and promotion. The sample size here is reduced since information about current employment status was not available for all respondents (see "Method" section above). Nevertheless, although caution is in order in interpreting relationships when, as is the case here, more than 20% of the fitted cells are sparse, inspection of the frequencies and percentages agrees with the computed chi-square. Respondents employed at "research universities" produced no "positive" comments and only two (8% of all comments) of the "mixed" comments. These respondents were, however, responsible for the lion's share of "negative" comments (*n* = 10; 38%). In contrast, respondents from "comprehensive universities and colleges" were largely "positive" (*n* = 5; 19%), while those from "liberal arts" and "community colleges" exhibited variety in their comments, with three (12%) giving observations classified as "mixed," two (7%) comments classified as "negative," and two (8%) producing remarks classified as "positive." Although again the small sample size implies caution in interpretation, professorial rank was related to perceived effect of textbook authorship on tenure and promotion, chi-square (6) = 21.1, p = .002, with full and associate professors producing the largest number of "negative" judgments (n = 8; 30%), while nontenure-track faculty produced the largest number of "not applicable" judgments (n = 5; 19%). Full and associate professors were also represented among the "not applicable" judgments (n = 4; 15%) and the "positive" judgments (n = 5; 19%).

An analysis of the comments offered sheds some light on the quantitative data reported above. Of the six authors whose responses were coded as "not applicable," two reported that they had not begun working on textbooks until they had achieved both tenure and the rank of full professor, while three held nontenure-track positions. All three of the latter, however, expressed the opinion that having published a textbook had had a positive effect on their professional standing and had gained them some recognition. The remaining respondent said that it was simply too early to tell.

Of the 10 authors reporting positive effects, six described situations in which the publication of textbooks had been quite beneficial in terms of tenure and promotion. One respondent wrote, "Our administration recognizes publishing textbooks as a very valid activity on an apparent par with library based (more esoteric) research. This must be quite rare! Texts play a strong role in promotion and tenure."

Two authors reported a more moderate but still positive effect on tenure and promotion, with two others reporting that, having already achieved tenure and the rank of full professor, textbook writing had had no real effect in regard to promotion and tenure, but had resulted in increased status and regard among colleagues.

Of the six authors with mixed views as to the effect of textbook authorship on tenure and promotion, three mentioned that textbooks, while not as highly regarded as research, still did "count," while the remaining three expressed cautious optimism in the face of upcoming tenure/promotion decisions.

Of the 18 respondents reporting negative effects on issues of tenure and promotion from having authored a textbook, sixteen responded with variations of "no effect," with eleven elaborating on their reasons. The following are typical of the comments offered:

> "It actually delayed the process of focusing on my work that will be con-

> sidered in the tenure process. The textbook has no bearing on my status and will not help me in my tenure case."
>
> "I was tenured before engaging in this project. It is highly doubtful that the writing of this book will have any effect on my promotion to full professor."
>
> "Textbook writing ranks very low on the scale of scholarship."

The remaining two authors were simply a bit less categorical than were their colleagues. As one respondent put it, "Didn't hurt. Didn't really help either."

Pleasant and Unpleasant Surprises

In general, respondents reported more unpleasant than pleasant surprises (53 unpleasant versus 38 pleasant surprises, or a ratio of 1:4 unpleasant surprises for every pleasant one). A content analysis of the written comments revealed that, for 12 authors, working with various publishing house personnel constituted a pleasant surprise (32% of total comments), as did working with colleagues (*n* = 9; 24%). For six authors (16% of total comments), their enjoyment of the process of writing and creating came as a pleasant surprise, while for three (8%), it was the appearance of the final product (both its actual look and the fact that it did finally appear) that constituted a pleasant surprise. The remaining eight comments indicated that there were no pleasant surprises (*n* = 3; 8%) along with various idiosyncratic responses. Representative comments, taken from the various categories listed above include:

> "Working with a very good, very qualified development editor [was a plus]."
>
> "I became excellent friends with my two coauthors."
>
> "[I] enjoyed the creative process and the opportunity to refine my thinking on pedagogy."
>
> "[The] finished product [was] better looking than anticipated."
>
> "All in all, quite a learning experience, if not always pleasant."
>
> "I continued to be interested and challenged by the project to the end."

Unpleasant surprises, apart from two authors who felt there had been none, fell into two categories: those connected in various ways to the publishing house and those not related to it. Not surprisingly, given the complexities involved in bringing a textbook to publication, the former were much more numerous than the latter (45 [88%] versus 6 [12%]). Of those unpleasant surprises not directly connected to the publishing house, two (4%) had to do with computer problems and four (8%) with coauthor dissension. These latter problems included coordinating the logistics of having multiple authors, working with colleagues who contributed less to the project than did others, and personality conflicts.

Of those unpleasant surprises connected with the publishing process, 14 (27%) dealt with the amount of work and time involved. Authors were especially vehement when writing about the "amazing amount of work" and "endless extra demands," "the fact that it never ends," and "unreasonable deadlines." The following comments are illustrative:

> "The last year is overload, with many things going on at the same time: proofing, redoing, developing, creating."
>
> "[An unpleasant surprise was] the unexpected amount of time it takes to produce a first-rate textbook."
>
> "The worst was when editors wanted things done at the last minute, as if we were working full time for them!"
>
> "As soon as you think you're done, something else comes up that needs to be checked or written."
>
> "It was more work than we could have imagined."

Related to these comments were those (n = 10; 20%) reflecting "surprises" that were characteristic of the experience of first-time authors, "surprises" that more seasoned textbook authors would probably find, as one respondent put it, "unpleasant but not surprising." The following represent typical comments:

> "Finding out authors paid for photographs when the first royalty statement came in."
>
> "[Finding out] how much some permissions cost."
>
> "[I] had no opportunity to affect choice of cover art."
>
> "I was surprised that we were responsible (at least financially) for the end-vocabulary, etc."

> "[I was bothered by] constant reduction in size. It was as if we were working towards a page count rather than for quality."

A few respondents also reported "unpleasant surprises" related to the knowledge and ability of the people working in publishing (*n* = 4; 8%):

> "Some editors knew no German. They could not even spell a word."
>
> "Editors were assigned late and were not fully qualified for text."

In addition, six (12%) respondents voiced dismay over the tumultuous conditions in publishing houses in recent years. Here, it should be pointed out that as a result of mergers and acquisitions the 1980s were times of great change for educational publishers (Kendrick, 1991; Silverman, 1991; Turner, 1992). Undoubtedly the following comments reflected that unrest:

> "This edition we had three different editors during the course of the process, resulting in confusing and even highly annoying feedback, some worse than useless."
>
> "Internal disorganization develop[ed] at the publisher."
>
> "The FL textbooks [were] sold to another publisher."

Two respondents (4%) were dissatisfied with the final product, in particular with the number of typographical errors that persisted and the quality of the paper used. Interestingly enough, although respondents had much to say about the textbook production process and their part in it, only one (2%) respondent expressed the feeling that he or she had been taken advantage of financially. In fact, many more respondents (*n* = 8; 16%) expressed surprise at the extent of the "tug-of-war between pedagogical ideas and what editors (whether trained in pedagogy or not) perceived as marketable." Respondents were particularly vocal concerning the "review" process textbooks undergo, expressing dismay at the double-duty "use of mss reviews as a marketing tool and a means of feedback," at "how narrow-minded some reviewer colleagues (teachers?) are," and at the fact that "the criticisms are often ideological, not specific to your book's content."

Three Pieces of Advice

Respondents were asked to give "three pieces of advice" they would offer a colleague embarking on a textbook project. As might be expected, such advice was, for the most part, aimed at helping imaginary colleagues avoid the problems or "unpleasant surprises" the textbook authors themselves had experienced. Of the total 109 pieces of advice offered, perhaps the most vehement came from one respondent who simply wrote: "Don't do it. Don't do it. Don't do it." Other comments focused on motivation, with three (3%) warning that "do[ing] it for the money [is] not worth it," and seven (6%) advising that textbook projects and the processes of tenure and promotion often make uneasy companions ("Be already tenured. Do not touch a textbook project if still untenured"). Other comments (*n* = 20; 18%) mentioned the time ("Clear your schedule for the next *ca.* five years") and work involved ("It's more work than you'll ever know"). One respondent mentioned that success only breeds more work: "Be aware that the demand for a second edition will come before you turn around." Finally, two (2%) comments emphasized the importance of being sure that the "schedule for development is reasonable" as well as the importance of meeting deadlines.

Still other comments (*n* = 22; 20%) consisted of advice for negotiating the contract. Here the majority echoed advice given elsewhere (Benjaminson, 1992; Brock, 1985; Luey, 1990), pointing out that "the contract is heavily weighted in favor of the publishers," and admonishing that "Everything is negotiable." Respondents also stress, however, that such negotiating is easier the "second time around if your text has been successful." Other comments contained more specific advice, especially in regard to negotiating responsibility for photographs, permissions, end-vocabulary lists, the index, art, and ancillaries. As one respondent put it, "Remember this might be your first experience as a business person. Be serious about it." In addition, three (3%) comments recommended consulting with friends and colleagues who have already dealt with contracts and negotiations. Three respondents' comments (3%) also suggested consulting with a lawyer knowledgeable in the field of intellectual property.

In spite of the overall satisfaction with coauthors (see above), several comments (*n* = 11; 10%) consisted of advice in this area. Essentially, prospective textbook authors were advised to pick their own coauthors, and, when choosing, to pay attention to compatibility in terms of work style (especially attitude toward deadlines), knowledge of the field, and shared points of view. As one respondent put it, "Find a compatible coauthor who is a generous worker and an honest critic and who will accept nothing less than your level of excellence."

Several respondents' advice concerned the initial conception of the project (*n* = 8; 7%) along with the actual choice of a publishing company. One suggested that first-year textbooks were too complicated for novice authors; another suggested finding a "gap" in what is available and then filling it. Other comments note an impression that small publishing houses are easier to work with than are larger ones and advise that one should choose an editor with whom one is compatible as opposed to choosing a publishing house. In addition, finding a publishing house that does not have titles that would compete with what you are proposing was set forth as a good idea. Finally, two respondents suggested "shop[ping] around" and sending sample materials to "as many editors as possible."

Another issue mentioned in several comments (*n* = 7; 6%) was dealing with the process of producing a textbook. One respondent suggested "frequent face-to-face meetings with author team and editors," while others emphasized staying on top of issues such as photo selection, page layout, design, and illustrations. The importance of finding "good people for individual tasks" (for example, to handle the ancillaries) was also an issue. In addition, three (3%) comments warned prospective authors to resist being "rushed to completion," advising textbook authors to "insist on quality."

Seven authors (6%) emphasized fighting for your rights. As one respondent put it, "Stick to your beliefs in the face of idiot reviewers and entrenched editors," while another was of the opinion that authors, and not editors, are the ones with real lasting power: "Learn how to stand up to your publisher—rule of thumb: authors seem to last longer with a publishing house than do its editors. Learn how to take advantage of this. Be PROACTIVE—don't wait for them to decide."

The advice given by five (5%) comments, to "have a well-structured, coherent argument and plan of development for your project" to which one is "committed," was, in all likelihood, related to the impression that authors have to fight against "compromise . . . particularly when . . . asked to do contradictory things by reviewers and publishers." In other words, authors with a clear, well-thought-out plan would be less likely to be persuaded or overwhelmed by editorial and/or reviewer arguments with which they do not agree. On the other hand, two (2%) comments advised cultivating a sense of realism and an enlightened attitude toward marketability and publisher expectations. And, last but not least, one (1%) respondent suggested that authors not "expect a perfect book. It and ancillaries go thru too many hands and the chances for errors (hopefully minimal) are great." Finally, four (4%) comments suggested cutting the publisher out of the picture entirely and advised prospective textbook authors to complete a manuscript before dealing with publishers, and then not to negotiate with publishers ("Motto: Take it or leave it"). Prospective textbook authors were also advised to get "desktop publishing facilities, do most of the work yourself, and sell it to a publisher for worthwhile money."

Limitations of the Study

As a preliminary investigation, the current study is subject to several limiting factors. First, we chose to concentrate only on authors of college-level French and German textbooks. Given the greater number of Spanish students as compared to French and German students, and given the status of Spanish as a widely used language in the United States, our results are not necessarily generalizable to authors of Spanish textbooks or to authors of textbooks for the less commonly taught languages.[19] In a similar vein, it may well be that conditions under which foreign language textbooks are produced are sufficiently different from those under which textbooks in other academic areas are produced to make generalization from these results questionable (English, 1993a). In this context, comments, both positive and negative, similar to those reported in this study in regard to contract negotiation and overall experience with textbook publishing, were also reported in the TAA survey whose respondents represented fifty-two publishers and sixty-two subject areas, the majority of them at the college level. In addition, our findings do not differ substantially from those reported by Coser, Kadushin, and Powell (1982) in their study of thirty-one authors of college-level textbooks. At this point, only further research will be able to ascertain the degree to which the experiences reported by our respondents are particular to the production of French and German college-level language textbooks or are generalizable to textbook production in general.

Similarly, conditions for foreign language textbook authors working in the elementary and high school markets (the "el-hi" market) are likely to diverge significantly from those of the authors studied here. Textbooks written for the "el-hi" levels tend to be products of a publisher-assembled team, working to specifications set forth by the publishing house and carefully positioned for marketability (see Coser, Kadushin & Powell, 1982; Elliott & Woodward, 1990; Keedy, 1992; Turner, 1992; Tyson-Bernstein, 1988) rather than originating in the knowledge and expertise of a member of the academy. This issue obviously calls for additional research.

Finally, the sample here, although representative, is rather small, rendering many of the findings tentative and in need of replication. Further, the "facts" as they are presented represent textbook authors' perceptions and recollections. As such, they are subject to the vagaries of human memory, post hoc judgments, and possible biases either toward the positive or the negative. These "facts" should, then, not necessarily be seen as representing objective reality nor should the "advice" offered by our respondents necessarily be taken as legitimate in all situations. It would, for example, be interesting to examine many of these same issues from the point of view of those in the publishing world as well as from the viewpoint of those in academic administration. Finally, in interpreting these results, as in interpreting the results of any survey, the effects of a response bias toward social desirability (Schuman & Presser, 1981) cannot be discounted. In some cases, especially for those questions where there is a perceived "better" answer, bias vis-à-vis objective reality may have been introduced.

Discussion

Based on the results of an admittedly exploratory study, typical authors of a first- or second-year French or German foreign language textbook at the college/university level can be tentatively characterized as being tenured faculty currently employed at research institutions. The fact that textbook authors tended to come largely from research institutions in all likelihood reflects the fact that such institutions are also the site of large first- and second-year language programs, a fact that gives putative textbook authors both the experience and the visibility publishers are likely to value.

The avowed motivations of these authors were largely altruistic, although authors of first-year textbooks, whose market tends to be larger than that for second-year textbooks, were more likely to be aware of financial considerations than were authors of second-year textbooks.[20] As might have been expected from previous discussion concerning educational publishers' concern with developing textbooks for specific markets as opposed to publishing material that comes to them in largely completed form, initial impetus for the textbook project was quite likely to have originated with a publishing house, and authors submitted sample chapters rather than completed manuscripts. Authors may or may not have negotiated the contract they were originally offered, but if they did undertake such negotiations, they were likely to have been successful, at least on those items included in this study. Although it is difficult to interpret data concerning royalties earned, indications are that the majority of authors received between 8% and 15% of net price for the textbook itself and between 5% and 12% of net price for the workbook/laboratory manual, with authors of French textbooks tending to receive higher royalties than authors of German textbooks, again probably due to differing market size.

Expenses connected with textbook production as well as responsibility for the production of ancillaries were divided between publishers and authors. Here the amount of variability evident would indicate that these items are negotiable and that the question of expenses and responsibility for various components of the textbook package is likely to be arranged on a case-by-case basis.

The fact that German textbook authors were less satisfied than their French counterparts with the language and cultural knowledge of both developmental and copy editors may simply indicate the smaller likelihood of finding editors with the requisite knowledge and skills. Again, this may be a reflection of differing market share. The fact that at the present moment more college students study French than German makes it more likely that editors who know French will be available. Similarly, the fact that more French textbooks will be produced makes it possible for those editors with language and cultural skills to work, for the most part, on French projects. Such may well not be the case for editors assigned to German textbook projects. The fact that authors of first-year textbooks found acquisitions editors more helpful than did authors of second-year textbooks may, again, simply be a reflection of different market size. First-year textbooks represent a larger investment and thus may well cause acquisitions editors to put forth more effort in their behalf.

Although considerations of space preclude more than a cursory analysis (see Heilenman, 1991: pp. 104–14, and 1993 for further discussion), the results of this exploratory study have implications for several issues surrounding the creation, production, and use of textbooks. The first issue concerns the uneasy and often adversarial relationship that exists between textbook authors and publishing houses (Coser, Kadushin & Powell, 1982). Two comments seem in order here. First, it is undoubtedly true that members of the academy approach their first textbook project with something less than acumen and poise. That over 40% of respondents signed contracts without negotiating would seem to indicate a certain degree of naïveté on the part of textbook authors, a naïveté that, if one is to judge by the advice given to colleagues, is usually regretted. As we have already pointed out, 22 of the 109 pieces of advice (20%) concerned contract and other negotiations. The following were typical:

> "Negotiate each item and consult an intellectual property attorney to help you get the best deal."
>
> "Negotiate hard with the publishing house. Don't make too many compromises. It's your book. Read the contract carefully."
>
> "Do not agree to: apply for permissions, produce the glossaries, index, or appendices, or create other ancillaries w/o some reimbursement."

Second, some publishers, intentionally or unintentionally, take advantage of the lack of knowledge exhibited by novice authors. Ultimately, as Brock (1985) and Luey (1990) both point out, the interests of authors and publishers overlap and there is more to be said for cooperative than for adversarial relationships. Given that much of the conflict that exists has roots in the different cultures of publishing and academe and in the often conflicting motivations of publishers and authors (Benjaminson, 1992; Heilenman, 1991, 1993), Luey's (1990: p. 6) characterization of affairs is probably salutary:

> [M]uch of the conflict between authors and publishers is rooted in the very interdependence that also makes them partners. Authors resent having their professional stature and even their livelihoods rest in the hands of nonacademics. And just as faculty members often comment on how great teaching would be if it weren't for the students, publishers occasionally long for the day when books would magically appear without authors. With a little understanding, however, the two sides can get along quite nicely.

A second and perhaps more important issue is that of academic rewards. Respondents to this survey were clear: authoring a textbook is a risky business at best in terms of furthering an academic career. Although several respondents reported that the publication of a textbook did "count" toward tenure and promotion, they simultaneously qualified their comments by mentioning that they were employed at a "teaching institution" and/or implying that their case was an exception to a more general rule. Given, then, that textbooks are generally perceived as "not counting," along with the fact that producing a textbook is an extremely demanding task involving significant amounts of time and effort, it is little wonder that members of the academy are slow to advise their colleagues to undertake such a project. The following three-part piece of advice offered by one respondent could easily serve as a summary statement:

> "Don't do it [write a textbook] for the money. It's not worth it.
> Don't do it for promotion. It'll get you nowhere.
> Do it only if you are very idealistic and a workaholic!"

A third and related issue concerns the effect of textbooks on schooling in the United States and the role of textbook authors and publishers in determining their form and content. Although exhortations to the contrary are easily found (Allwright, 1981), the textbook, particularly the introductory textbook, is more often than not the de facto curriculum in university-level classrooms, as it is in elementary and secondary school classrooms (Chall & Conard, 1991), thus putting those who determine its content in the position, sought or not, of determining curriculum (Biemer, 1992).[21] Further, textbook content, insofar as it represents "legitimate knowledge" (Apple, 1989: p. 282) or "the authorized version of a society's valid knowledge" (Olson, 1980: p. 192), also represents "the foundation of much of our intellectual life" (Boorstin, 1981: p. ix). In other words, textbooks exemplify what De Castell (1990: p. 80) has called "documentary texts," whose function is to present truth rather than to explain it and whose version of reality is neither to be challenged nor interpreted. As such, textbooks, unlike scholarly monographs or journal articles, must mediate among various views of "objective truth"; they must represent not one person's view but a negotiated compromise among the views of authors and those of users as represented by the market (Heilenman, 1991). From this perspective, members of the academy must preserve their traditional role of originators of knowledge and defenders of innovation, a role that is jeopardized by an increasing rift between what colleges and universities see as valid academic work (the writing of articles for refereed journals and scholarly monographs) and the kind of work represented by authoring a textbook (for further discussion of the issue, see Heilenman, 1993, and Tyson-Bernstein, 1988). In the field of foreign language pedagogy and textbook production, Rings (1990: pp. 133–34) has summed up this position well:

> If one is working on a textbook project that is a radical departure from the mainstream norm and tradition, the most difficult and challenging task when working with a mainstream publisher is retaining the integrity and principles of one's own research and scholarship in language and language acquisition while producing a manuscript that is acceptable to a bottom-line-oriented marketing endeavor the publishing house. We all know that publishers cannot exist by producing textbooks which no one in the profession will adopt. Therefore, when producing a radically new

> textbook, one does not simply hand in a finished manuscript but rather spends months negotiating with the publisher and the professionals who review it.

The results of the research reported here emphasize the bottom-line reality faced by the majority of faculty in foreign languages: writing textbooks and achieving tenure/progressing in rank are all too often diametrically opposed goals. As Heilenman (1991) points out, it is no longer the case that faculty whose scholarly interests are in language pedagogy and second language acquisition find themselves largely restricted to textbook authoring as a means of publication. As the fields of foreign/second language education/acquisition have matured, so too have the publication possibilities, and scholars in pedagogy/language acquisition, much like those in literature, now find themselves balancing the realities of time, money, and scholarly reputation as they decide upon the viability of textbook writing as a professional endeavor.[22]

Given the realities of limited time and energy, it is difficult to imagine that the majority of faculty will continue to produce textbooks if such work is not academically sanctioned. As long as the authoring of textbooks and other instructional material is perceived as being on the fringes—if not actually outside—the boundaries of legitimate scholarly work, then an essential balance between the demands of the marketplace and those of innovation and knowledge will be in jeopardy. Edgerton (1992: p. 4) states the dilemma as follows: "[T]here's something deeply disturbing to me about a picture in which the faculty in research universities, the scholars most engaged in shaping the nature and character of their disciplines, are disengaged from the task of explaining and representing their disciplines to the next generation."

We find something deeply disturbing about a picture in which textbooks are produced either, through academic default, by publisher-run committees or by academics who are essentially "moonlighting" (Brock, 1985: p. 223) as opposed to working with the "blessing of their universities" (Tyson-Bernstein, 1988: p. 197).

Current efforts to redefine teaching as valid academic work may well have some effect on this issue (see Boyer, 1990; Mooney, 1992). Nevertheless, given the current disincentives in place, we imagine only with difficulty a world where the publication of a textbook would be the rough equivalent in terms of promotion and tenure to the publication of a research monograph or even a refereed journal article. The ultimate irony of this situation is, of course, that the very institutions that refuse to recognize textbooks as a form of scholarship will suffer from their declining quality. Tyson-Bernstein (1988: p. 195), in a penetrating analysis of the interrelation between the rules of the academy and the reality of textbook production, has concluded that "the rules governing tenure, the hyperspecialization of scholars, and the widespread contempt for 'commercial writing' . . . are serious obstacles to textbook reform." If textbooks are to contribute to the revitalization of education in the United States, we simply cannot blame publishers for producing what teachers and instructors say they want. Members of the academic community have a real and pressing responsibility in this area, as do various nonprofit and government sources of funding for innovative educational ventures (see, for example, Dow, 1992; Schulz, 1991; for a similar position, see Chall & Conard, 1991).

Finally, textbooks, and by extension other instructional materials, do not exist in a void. They represent a complex and multifaceted economic, political, and cultural reality that is served poorly—if at all—by simplistic and overly partisan analyses. We hope that this study represents a small step toward additional and more extensive attempts to investigate those deceptively ordinary academic artifacts, textbooks and other instructional materials, that stand at the center of the educational enterprise.

Notes

1. Our title directly reflects the influence of work by Coser, Kadushin, and Powell (1982) and Apple (1985, 1986, 1989, 1991). The term "culture and commerce" originated with Coser, Kadushin, and Powell and has also been used by Apple (1985). Although we deal directly with textbooks, much of the discussion here has implications for those working with software, media, and other types of instructional materials. See, for example, Banu (1990).
2. We are unaware of any published cost estimates for college-level foreign language textbooks. Lichtenberg (1992: p. 15), however, cites $500,000 as the minimum cost for developing a basic biology textbook. This figure does not include the costs involved in printing, advertising, and distributing the resultant text.
3. An example of this dynamic at work is provided by the situation in areas where enrollments are small, as is the case for less commonly taught languages (Rifkin, 1992) and upper-division courses. Here,

although the need is great, the profit potential is small, thus producing a virtual impasse (Benseler, 1991).

4. Of interest here also is the column written by lawyer Michael Lennie, "In Jure," which appears in the newsletter of the Text and Academic Authors Association (TAA), PO Box 535, Orange Springs, FL 32182).
5. According to Luey (1990), royalties based on list (retail price) are usually lower than those based on net, with 10% of net being roughly the same as 6% to 7% of list. Benjaminson (1992: p. 66) advises prospective authors to make sure that their royalties are calculated on list price since publisher receipts, or net, is a "very flexible term." English (1993b) suggests, however, that royalties based on list prices have been largely phased out.
6. A casual perusal of three recent French and three recent German college-level introductory textbooks reveals the same trend, with the number of reviewers acknowledged ranging from a low of 21 to a high of 43 (mean = thirty) for the French textbooks and from 30 to 48 (mean = 38) for the German textbooks.
7. The organization of publishing houses is far more complex than can be reflected in a brief paragraph. It should also be pointed out that many of the editors are in actuality free lance workers who contract for specific tasks (Brock, 1985). For further information, see Coser, Kadushin, and Powell (1982), Silverman (1991), and Turner (1992).
8. Although we are authors of French and German textbooks, we did not include data from our personal experiences in the sample.
9. Although many of the textbooks represented in this sample have more than one author, this was not taken into consideration in the present study. Coauthors of the same book were treated as separate respondents.
10. Due to the small sample size and the resultant number of cells in the contingency tables that were less than five, significance testing is often, at best, difficult to interpret and, at worst, questionable (Reynolds, 1984). Although we report the results of such tests along with an indication of difficulties due to cells that were less than five, readers are well advised to examine the frequencies and percentages. These are given where applicable. Full tables are available from the authors.
11. The departure from expected values found here is also marginally significant using Yates corrected chi square (1) = 3.9, $p = .047$, a modification

used for small samples that results in a more conservative estimate of significance (Reynolds, 1984; SYSTAT DATA, 1992).

12. Here and in the following discussion concerning initiation of the textbook project, percentages do not sum to 100% since respondents were allowed to choose multiple categories.

13. Yates corrected chi-square (1) = 2.9, p = .09, thus suggesting caution in drawing conclusions from these data.

14. Not all items that could potentially be negotiated were included in the survey instrument (see Appendix). Clauses dealing with publishers' satisfaction with the final manuscript and indemnity clauses dealing with authors' obligations in suits or claims for invasion of privacy or libel are also important (see Brock, 1985; Coser, Kadushin & Powell, 1982).

15. Although difficult to interpret, data in the TAA survey indicates a much lower success rate in contract negotiations, with royalties and advances being the most successfully negotiated items.

16. Due to less-than-felicitous wording, and the resultant confusion on the part of respondents dealing with this part of the questionnaire, we are unable to report information on how ancillary items are financed (for example, royalties, work for hire, free labor).

17. Workbook: Yates corrected chi-square (1) = 3.1, p = .08. Laboratory manual: Yates corrected chi-square (1) = 2.9, p = .09. Caution in interpreting these results is suggested.

18. Yates corrected chi-square (1) = 3.9, p = .05.

19. According to Brod and Huber (1992: p. 6), six languages—Spanish, French, German, Italian, Japanese, and Russian—accounted for 91.2% of total foreign language registrations in United States institutions of higher learning for fall 1990. These figures are as follows: Spanish, 533,944; French, 272,472; German, 133,348; Italian, 49,699; Japanese, 45,717; and Russian, 44,626. Latin appears as a distant seventh, with 28,178 registrations.

20. It is commonly said among publishers, for example, that the German market is split roughly 70–30 in favor of first-year students.

21. This may be less the case in areas where large lecture sections are the rule for introductory courses (for example, biology or psychology). Here, there is some evidence that students consider information contained in the lecture more important than that contained in the text

(Blystone, Barnard & Golimowski, 1990), a state of affairs that may contribute to students' increasing reluctance to purchase textbooks they view as peripheral (Lichtenberg, 1992).

22. Although a few textbook authors may indeed become "independently wealthy" (Brock, 1985: p. 185), it is much more likely that textbook authors profit moderately, if at all, from their efforts. Although data from the TAA survey indicate mean annual textbook-generated income for members at $46,000, the range is from $1 to $600,000 and both the median ($15,000) and the mode ($10,000) indicate that the distribution is skewed to the left. Moreover, given that members of TAA are, in our experience, likely to be successful—if not highly successful—textbook authors, the reality for the majority of authors is likely to be even less rosy. Here, we agree with Tibbetts and Tibbetts (1982: p. 856) who advise, "In the long run you will be much better off financially if you write scholarly books and work for academic promotion and the salary raises that go with it [than if you write textbooks]." There are certainly exceptions, but prospective textbook authors should understand that significant royalties are far from a sure thing.

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Appendix

Sample Questionnaires

1. Initial Questionnaire

Please answer all questions to the best of your knowledge. If you have additional comments, please write them in. Thank you very much for your time in filling out this questionnaire. We feel that the gathering and dissemination of this kind of information is vital to the future of text materials in foreign languages—and it should take no more than 15–20 minutes of your time.

Answer all questions in reference to YOUR MOST RECENT TEXTBOOK PROJECT ONLY. If you would like to include information on other textbook projects, please feel free to photocopy this questionnaire in order to tell us about those experiences.

1. Please indicate if the textbook project for which you are filling out this questionnaire was:
   ______ a German textbook
   ______ a French textbook
   ______ a first-year text
   ______ a second-year text
   ______ a first edition
   ______ a later edition (Please indicate second, third, etc. ________.)
2. What were your primary motivations for writing (revising) this book? Check all that apply. Then indicate the two most important motivations with the numbers 1 and 2.
   ______ publisher's request
   ______ desire to affect foreign language instruction
   ______ not satisfied with other material on the market
   ______ financial gain
   ______ other (please specify) ______________________________
3. Check the appropriate blank to indicate who initiated discussion of the textbook.

______ I initiated discussion with a publisher
______ another author contacted me
______ someone connected with a publishing house contacted me
______ other (please specify) ________________________________

4. What did you send to the publisher prior to signing a contract? Check all that apply.

______ a letter
______ a proposal
______ sample chapters
______ draft of a fairly complete manuscript
______ other (please specify) ________________________________

5. How did you handle signing the contract? Check all that apply.

______ I signed the contract without negotiating
______ I negotiated the following items (If the negotiation was successful, please indicate with an S and give details; if unsuccessful, use U)
    ______ royalties
    ______ copyright ownership
    ______ advance (against royalties)
    ______ grant(s) (non-repayable)
    ______ expenses
    ______ coauthor(s) agreement
    ______ permissions
    ______ other (please specify)____________________________

6. Please indicate the royalty rate received on the textbook (total, not simply your portion) and on any other items. Include escalation figures if applicable (for example, 12% if under 5,000 copies sold, etc.). (Note that this information along with other information is confidential. The compilation of such information is vital to all of us dealing with the production of instructional materials.)

_____ royalty rate for textbook (based on list or net price?)
_____ royalty rate for lab manual/workbook (based on list or net price?)
_____ other (please specify) ________________________________

7. Who paid for each of the following? Use A to indicate authors; P to indicate publishers.

_____ postage
_____ end-vocabulary
_____ telephone charges
_____ index
_____ art work (drawings)
_____ author's meetings (airfare, etc.)
_____ photographs
_____ permissions
_____ equipment (please specify)
_____ other (please specify) ____________________

8. Please indicate how the various ancillaries were handled. Use the following code:

S1 = did it myself (ourselves); received royalties
S2 = did it myself (ourselves); received a one-time fee
S3 = did it myself (ourselves); received no compensation beyond royalties
O1 = someone else did it; they received royalties from publisher
O2 = someone else did it; they received a one-time fee from publisher
O3 = someone else did it; they received a one-time fee from authors
X = not part of the package
P = publisher did it
? = not sure

_____ workbook
_____ lab manual
_____ role-play cards
_____ video
_____ test bank
_____ computer (CAI) software
_____ transparencies
_____ transparency masters
_____ instructor's annotated edition
_____ supplementary
_____ instructor's manual readings/realia
_____ other (please specify) ____________________

9. Please give us your impression of the various people you worked with during the process of producing this book. If more than one person of each type was involved, please use separate columns. Use the following codes:

? = unsure
NA = not applicable
E = excellent
G = good
A = adequate
P = poor

Acquisitions Editor(s):	(1)	(2)	(3)
Helpfulness			
Knowledge of French/German			
Pedagogical expertise			
Knowledge of French/German culture			
Developmental Editor(s):	(1)	(2)	(3)
Helpfulness			
Knowledge of French/German			
Pedagogical expertise			
Knowledge of French/German culture			
Photo Researcher(s):	(1)	(2)	(3)
Knowledge of French/German culture			
Artist(s):	(1)	(2)	(3)
Knowledge of French/German culture			
Copy Editor(s):	(1)	(2)	(3)
Knowledge of French/German			
Knowledge of French/German culture			

_____ Others? Please specify ______________________________

10. What was your experience like with the people responsible for marketing your textbook? Give any details that you wish.

_____ excellent
_____ good
_____ adequate
_____ poor

11. What was your experience with coauthors like? Give any details you wish.

    _____ excellent
    _____ good
    _____ adequate
    _____ poor

12. Were there any pleasant surprises during the process of writing this book? If so, please explain.

13. Were there any unpleasant surprises during the process of writing this book? If so, please explain.

14. What effect did the writing of this (and previous if applicable) textbooks have on tenure and promotion processes in your case? Please give as many details as possible. If your position is/was not a tenure-track one, please tell us how it affected your status.

15. What three pieces of advice would you give to a colleague interested in starting a textbook project?

Thank you again for your time and cooperation in filling out this questionnaire. If you would like a copy of the preliminary compilation of data, please let us know.

2. Follow-up Questionnaire

A. Type of institution at which you are employed (please check one):

Research University. These institutions offer a full range of baccalaureate programs, are committed to graduate education through the doctorate degree, and give high priority to research. They receive annually between at least $12.5 and 33.5 million in federal support and award at least 50 Ph.D. degrees each year.

Doctorate-granting University. In addition to offering a full range of baccalaureate programs, the mission of these institutions includes a commitment to graduate education through the doctorate degree. They award at least between 20 to 40 PhD degrees annually in at least three to five academic disciplines.

Comprehensive University and College. These institutions offer baccalaureate programs and may offer graduate education through the master's degree.

Liberal Arts College. These institutions are primarily undergraduate colleges that award more than half of their baccalaureate degrees in art and science fields.

Two-Year Community, Junior, and Technical College. These institutions offer certificate or degree programs through the Associate of Arts level and, with few exceptions, offer no baccalaureate degrees.

B. Your status (please check one):

______ non-tenure track
______ tenure track assistant professor (not yet tenured)
______ tenure track associate professor (not yet tenured)
______ tenured assistant professor
______ tenured associate professor
______ tenured full professor
______ other (please explain) ______________________________

C. Clarification questions: (Varied according to data provided on initial questionnaire)

Thank you for your help. Please return this questionnaire in the self-addressed, stamped envelope provided.

The Dynamics of Placement Testing: Implications for Articulation and Program Revision

Diane W. Birckbichler, Kathryn A. Corl, and Craig Deville
Ohio State University

Each year university foreign language departments admit into their classes thousands of students who have had from one to several years of high school—level instruction in the languages offered.[1] It is a common impression that continued language study from high school to college proceeds in a linear fashion, moving forward toward advanced proficiency in the language. Upon closer observation, however, the notion that instruction moves forward as a seamless web is often faulty. More often than not, the web contains gaps and weaknesses that cause it to fall apart. As a consequence, university students frequently spend time and money repeating course work for which they have already been awarded high school credit.

An increasing number of publications and mission statements from universities and professional organizations identify articulation, particularly the bridge between secondary and postsecondary language study, as one of the major issues of the 1990s (Byrnes, 1991; Lange, Prior & Sims, 1992; Wherritt, Druva-Roush & Moore, 1991). For example, Schwartz (1985) reported that almost half the California students he surveyed had to begin their language study anew at the university. The problems of articulation are especially obvious at large postsecondary institutions such as Ohio State University, whose language departments serve more than 40,000 undergraduate students. A 1992 study conducted by the university's Foreign Language

Center found that approximately 92% of the incoming students who had studied at least two years of a language in high school were unable to place directly into the expected third-quarter courses.

Statistics such as these bring to the forefront the important role that an institution's placement procedures play in the articulation equation. Critical in any effort to understand and promote articulation is a thorough understanding of the placement procedures that an institution uses to determine how students will be placed.

Placement Procedures

Placement procedures vary greatly from institution to institution, and range from no formal assessment at all (that is, students choose their own placement levels) to assessment through sophisticated computer-adaptive placement tests. Between these two extremes lies a variety of other techniques, including locally constructed paper-and-pencil tests, self-assessment instruments, oral interviews, standardized tests, and combinations of different procedures (Schwartz, 1985; Wherritt & Cleary, 1990).

In most cases, placement measures are administered primarily for the purpose of assigning individuals to specific levels of a course of study. Often these measures are administered upon the student's entry to university study, or just prior to it. Ideally, the goal of a placement procedure is "to situate the student in the course or treatment that will challenge him but will not overwhelm him—to prevent his wasting time or being bored on the one hand and to prevent his failure due to lack of preparation or lack of sufficient repetition or explication on the other" (Hills, 1971: p. 702). In addition to assuring appropriate placement, the placement test can also function to determine the amount of course credit that students will be awarded for their previous knowledge. A favorable placement test score may result in large savings in time and money if the student is exempted from required sequences. Therefore, it is important that any placement test function accurately, for accurate placement benefits the entire language program: the student, the instructor, the department, the university, and even those who pay the student's tuition.

As Schaefer (1982: pp. 75–76) states, "A placement test used in the real world to make practical decisions is primarily justified not by its theoretical foundations but by the degree to which it improves the decision-making process, making it more effective or more efficient." At a state university where approximately 6,000 incoming freshmen are tested every year, issues of practicality and utility come to the forefront and play an important role in any investigation of test use and validity (Messick, 1989). In high-volume situations, placement procedures must be easy to use and quick to administer and score. Valuable instructional time cannot be wasted while waiting for up to two weeks for the return of results from computer-scored paper-and-pencil tests. Finally, in times of increased demand for services within the confines of ever-shrinking budgets, the placement instrument must also be cost-effective.

Computer-adaptive testing (CAT) is gaining in popularity in many fields as a cost-effective and efficient means to deliver large-scale testing. With CAT, each test taker is presented with a different test sampled from the computer test bank and tailored to the test taker's abilities. The composition and length of the test are determined by the test taker's responses to items that are presented at various levels of difficulty. The test items, which have been precalibrated using procedures based on item response theory (Hambleton & Swaminathan, 1985), are sampled by the computer at a level of difficulty higher or lower than that of the current item, depending on whether the examinee answers the current item correctly or not. By probing above and below its working hypothesis about the examinee's ability level, revising as necessary through further probes, the computer is able to narrow in quickly on the examinee's ability level, that is, the level of difficulty at which the examinee operates most consistently. The more consistent the test taker's performance at a given level, the more readily the computer can arrive at a judgment regarding the examinee's ability level. Guessing or inconsistent performance by the examinee will result in a slightly longer test because the computer must revise its hypotheses and probe further. However, compared to conventional paper-and-pencil measures, the result, on average, is a shorter testing time, a better match between items and test taker, greater test security, and immediate reporting of results (Ebel & Frisbie, 1991).

Placement Testing at Ohio State University

The Foreign Language Center at Ohio State University first began using computer-adaptive testing to determine student placement in French and Spanish in the summer of 1988. The instrument, the Brigham Young Computer-Adaptive Placement Test (Larson, 1991), has been administered on a regular basis ever since, with the majority of testing conducted during summer freshman orientation sessions. In the summer of 1992 a German version of the test was added, and a total of 4,583 students took the test in French, Spanish, or German. To date, the Brigham Young test has proved to be an efficient, convenient, and fairly accurate means for placing large numbers of students in Ohio State's French, Spanish, and German programs. The test's developers at Brigham Young University conducted studies to determine the reliability and validity of their computer-adaptive placement tests (see Larson, 1991, for a description of the procedures used for the Spanish version of the test). The tests were subsequently normed on Ohio State students for its language programs.

The data collection, storage, and networking capabilities of the computer have also enabled the Foreign Language Center to analyze and use data gathered during testing to monitor trends and provide a feedback loop to Ohio State's language programs. Collected data are of two types. Scores from the placement tests are reported individually to students, to their instructors, and to their academic advisers, all for the purpose of placing students into language classes. Test results are also reported in aggregate for each language, and made available to the language departments via the Foreign Language Center's annual report on placement testing. Student responses to questions appended to the placement test provide a second source of data. These questions (listed in the Appendix) elicit a variety of information, including typical demographics, self-assessment of language skills, previous language experience and language study goals, and data on attitude toward language study. The questions can be modified depending on the type of information needed for program evaluation or revision.

The remainder of this chapter will describe some of the studies that Ohio State University's Foreign Language Center has conducted on its placement procedures, program changes that have come about as a result of this research, the use of placement test results in articulation efforts, and the questions that have yet to be asked and answered about the role of placement tests in general and the use of CAT as a placement tool in particular.

Data for Decision Making: Program Modifications Based on Test Results

Analysis of computerized placement test results collected at Ohio State University since 1990 in French and Spanish revealed that a large proportion of Ohio State's incoming students who had studied these languages in high school did not score well enough on the required placement examination to enter directly into third-quarter (103) or fourth-quarter (104) courses (Birckbichler & Deville, 1991; Birckbichler, Deville & Antonsen, 1991, 1992). These are the placements that would be expected from the traditional equivalency formula of one-quarter of university study equals one year of high school study. In 1990, 65% of Ohio State's incoming students placed into beginning 101 courses, regardless of their number of years of high school language study. The Foreign Language Center and the language departments regarded this repetition of high school course content as wasteful of time, money, and instructional resources at both the high school and university levels. In addition to the financial considerations associated with repeating course content, there were instructional considerations, in particular, the problems caused by large numbers of "false beginners" in lower-division language courses (see, for example, Lange, Prior & Sims, 1992 and Loughrin-Sacco, 1990, for further discussion of the "false beginner").

In response to this problem, so clearly delineated by the placement test data, the Department of French and Italian and the Department of Spanish and Portuguese revised their beginning language offerings to include review courses (French/Spanish 102.66 and 103.66), which were designed especially for students who had had high school language experience, but who had scored lower than anticipated on the placement test. Placement in the review courses is determined by a combination of years of high school study and score on the computerized placement test. A student with two years of language experience whose score on the placement test is too low for placement into 102 is required to enter 102.66, a course that combines the content of 102 with a review of the content of 101. Similarly, a student with three or more years of language study who places into 102 instead of the anticipated 103 is required to take 103.66, in which the most important contents of 102 are reviewed and combined with the contents of 103. After completion of the review courses, students enter at the next level of regular-numbered courses, that is, 103 or 104.

As Table 1 demonstrates, in 1992 the majority of the 4,583 incoming high school students (50.1%) placed into the 102.66 review courses in French and Spanish. Excluding the data for the German Department, which will implement review courses during the next academic year, the course into which the second highest number of students (19.9%) placed was also a review course, 103.66. Thus, 70% of the students in the large-enrollment languages were required to do "remedial work," using the equivalency expectation that one year of high school language study corresponds to one quarter at the university. This percentage will undoubtedly increase in autumn 1993 when the German Department adds review courses to its curriculum.

Table 1

Frequencies and Percentages by Language of Student Placement Level in 1992

Course Placement	French N	French %	German[1] N	German[1] %	Spanish N	Spanish %	Total N	Total %
101	47	3.3	121	28.6	61	2.2	229	5.0
102.66[2]	799	56.8			1495	54.3	2294	50.1
102	87	6.2	181	42.8	234	8.5	502	11.0
103.66[2]	249	17.7			665	24.1	914	19.9
103	156	11.1	85	20.1	230	8.4	471	10.3
104	60	4.3	36	8.5	68	2.5	164	3.6
Tested Out	8	0.6			1	0.0	9	0.2
Total[1]	406	100.0	423	100.0	2754	100.0	4583	100.0

[1] *German did not yet have review courses at the time of data collection.*

[2] *102.66 and 103.66 are review courses.*

Reviewing the Review Courses

As part of a continual feedback loop that examines the relationship between the placement test and language programs, the Foreign Language Center (FLC) conducted an evaluation of its newly introduced review courses.[2] During the final week of the winter quarter in 1992 the FLC surveyed all students in the 103- and 104-level courses ($N = 803$) in order to: 1) determine how satisfied students were with the preparation they received in the review courses; 2) find out how well students do after they have taken these courses and have moved into the regular course sequence; and 3) obtain a better understanding of the FLC's computer-adaptive placement test (Birckbichler & Deville, 1991).

The large majority (76.1%) of the respondents had taken their previous language course at Ohio State University, but 20.1% had taken their previous language course in high school. Most of the students (75.6%)

reported that they did not plan to continue to study the language beyond the required sequence.

The overall means for the survey questions and for final course grade are reported in Table 2.

Table 2

Means and Standard Deviations for Survey Questions and Final Course Grade

Variables	Mean	SD
Quality of high school preparation	3.32	1.29
Quality of college preparation	3.22	1.14
Quality of review course preparation	3.61	1.03
Accuracy of FLC's placement test	3.61	1.31
Final course grade	3.11	0.79

Note: All questions were on a scale of 1–5: 1 = low value; 5 = high value. Final course grades are reported on the conventional 0–4 scale.

As Table 2 indicates, all means are above the neutral value of 3, and the means for "Quality of review course preparation" and "Accuracy of FLC's placement test" approach 4. In general, these values speak well for the students' perceptions of how well they were prepared for language study at Ohio State University, either by their high schools or by Ohio State (including the review courses). The higher means for the statements about the review courses and the placement test indicate that the students who were surveyed were generally satisfied with how the courses and the test have served them in their foreign language studies at Ohio State.

In order to determine whether there were differences in final course grades depending on where students had taken their most recent language course, an analysis of variance (ANOVA) was conducted on the six levels of "previous study" (high school, transfer students, Ohio State's regular course sequence, review course sequence, study/travel abroad, and local community college). The dependent variable was final course grade. Although the data are somewhat unstable because of the small sample sizes in several of the levels, the analysis can be considered useful. The ANOVA did not reach significance ($F = 1.10$; $df = 5{,}795$; $p = .36$), indicating that student background was not significantly related to course grade. This result is encouraging, for it signifies that the French and Spanish departments do well placing students into their programs and that student grades are not dependent upon where students did their previous language study.

Noting that surveys and studies of programmatic effectiveness question the "survivors" of language courses, the FLC has undertaken a survey of all students (*N* = 395) who dropped language courses during the autumn quarter of 1993. Preliminary analyses of the data indicated that students discontinue language study at Ohio State for several reasons. The largest percentage of students (27.6%) gave reasons other than those indicated on the survey—for example, family responsibilities, too much time since they last studied the language, or intention to take the language next quarter. Other important reasons were time conflict (26.1%), perceived inaccuracy of placement and subsequent difficulty in course (18%), and the amount of work involved in the course (12.2%). It would seem from these preliminary analyses that student perception of the accuracy of the placement test is only one of several factors that influence dropout rate.

Questioning the Standard: Are Years of High School Study a Useful Metric?

Ohio State places incoming students into language classes on the basis of their placement test score and years of high school study. In order to examine the relationship between years of study and placement test score, a regression analysis was performed in which years of high school were regressed on the placement test score. The resultant F value was significant at the .0001 level ($F = 1023.13$, $df = 1{,}4582$), which is partly due to the large sample size. For this reason, the r^2 was examined. The number of years of high school language study explains 18% of the variance in the placement test scores, indicating that other important factors influence the scores. This relatively small value seems large in contrast with the value of 7% found in a similar study conducted by Lange, Prior, and Sims (1992). The difference, however, can be explained by reference to the way the data were categorized for analysis. Lange and his colleagues included in their measure of language experience years of high school, middle school, elementary school, and study/travel abroad, and established an equivalency table to convert these experiences into years of high school study. When the data from Ohio State were analyzed to include years of language study prior to high school, the r^2 value was identical to that of Lange and colleagues (7%).

Given the relatively low importance of years of study, improved predictors need to be determined so that incoming students can be placed more effectively. In order to examine several variables thought to be potential predictors of placement level, questions from a subset of the biographical survey of the placement test (see Appendix) were analyzed. These variables, aimed at eliciting student background, language experience, and attitude, were then examined in several stepwise statistical analyses. Although such procedures should be used with caution (Pedhazur, 1982), they can afford a useful overview of a long list of variables.

The most interesting and challenging result relates to the variable Self-assessment, a composite score obtained by combining responses to five items that asked students to assess their skills in the areas of listening, speaking, reading, writing, and culture. Self-assessment was found to correlate highest (.49) with the placement test and to be the first variable to enter the stepwise regression on the placement score (see Table 3). Self-assessment explained more variance (25%) than years of high school language study, the variable used by the FLC as the second criterion to place students. The third variable was the student's self-reported last grade received in the language course, accounting for 2% of the variance in the placement test score.

Table 3

Summary of Stepwise Regression for the Dependent Variable, Placement Test Score

Variable	Number In	Partial r^2	F Value	Prob.
Self-assessment	1	0.245	1484.05	.0001
Years in high school	2	0.045	292.30	.0001
Last grade	3	0.016	104.01	.0001

Other variables not listed in Table 3, but that also revealed a moderate and significant first-order correlation with the placement test score, are the questions "How well did your high school prepare you for college work?" (r = .39) and "Number of years since you last studied the language." (r = –.37).

A second stepwise procedure using discriminant analysis was also performed on the data. Discriminant analysis provides a weighted linear combination of the numeric variables and classifies subjects into categories, in this case into the seven different levels used for placement at Ohio State (for example, 101, 102.66, 102, and so on). Because the primary interest was in the strength and accuracy of predictor variables other than the placement test, all variables except the placement score were entered into the analysis. As expected, the strongest predictor turned out to be years of language study in high school, the variable used by Ohio State in combination with placement test score to determine student placement. The next strongest predictor of placement level was the self-assessment composite score (Wilks's lambda = 0.49, p <0001).

The emergence of self-assessment as a strong predictor is worthy of further examination for a variety of reasons. Self-assessment has already been proposed as an alternative or supplement to proficiency testing (Brindley, 1989) and has been used with success as a placement instrument at the University of Iowa (Heilenman, 1991) and at the University of Ottawa (LeBlanc & Painchaud, 1985). Self-assessment is also an economical and efficient tool. Because students are not required to actually perform numerous language tasks, self-assessment inventories can sample more language behaviors in a shorter amount of time than standard procedures. In addition, students can evaluate their own oral skills, thus providing an oral evaluation component for placement procedures.

The moderate predictor value of years of high school study and the emergence of other important predictor variables has led the Foreign Language Center to reexamine those factors used to place students. The Foreign Language Center is currently pursuing an in-depth study to identify factors that influence placement test scores and subsequent success in university-level language classes. The results of this study will undoubtedly lead to an approach by which actual placement is determined by multiple factors that take into account not only the student's placement test score but other variables that are identified as important.

Placement Testing and Articulation Efforts

Ohio State is quite satisfied with the computer adaptive placement test, in particular with its efficiency and accuracy in placing incoming students into appropriate courses. In an effort to make information about the placement test available to a wider public, the overall results of the placement tests are reported in the Foreign Language Center's annual placement test report (Birckbichler, Deville & Antonsen, 1991, 1992) and the results are made available to high school administrators and teachers who request information about their students' placement at Ohio State. In an effort to provide more systematic feedback to high school language departments, the Foreign Language Center is expanding the reporting of placement test data to an increasing number of high schools. Although privacy laws in Ohio do not permit reporting individual results to anyone other than the student who has taken the test and the student's academic adviser, aggregate results can be furnished to high school language departments that request information about the placement levels of their students.

As reported above, the results of the placement test indicate that many high school students were not placing at expected levels and needed to repeat high school content at the university level. Although language learning should not be considered a linear, serial process in which all students master material at the same point in time, repetition of high school content at the university level is a luxury that can no longer be afforded or defended.

In order to find solutions to this articulation problem, Ohio State University, in close partnership with the Columbus Public Schools and Columbus State Community College, has undertaken a large-scale project, the Collaborative Articulation/Assessment Project, that will directly address the problems involved with the articulation of foreign language study at secondary and postsecondary institutions.[3] The goals of this partnership are to create a functional articulation relationship that encompasses three perspectives—large urban high school, community college, and large state university—with each institution serving as an equal partner, and to develop a coherent long-term sequence of language instruction for the thousands of language students directly involved in the project.

Assessment, in particular, placement testing, is an essential part of the collaborative project. Discussions with high school teachers and administrators have revealed a concern that the computer-adaptive placement tests may not take into account the content of high school language programs. The absence of listening and speaking components is also seen as a weakness by high school participants. In response to this concern, the Foreign Language Center plans to study the relationship between oral proficiency tests, scores on the placement test, and subsequent classroom performance. Finally, the project will implement a program of early language assessment, conducted while students are still in high school.

Although early assessment as a means to encourage better high school-to-university articulation has been largely ignored up to this point, it overcomes one of the major disadvantages of testing upon entry to a university.

Such testing occurs far too late in the student's overall course experience to allow for feedback and corrective measures that would give students the opportunity to try to place into higher level courses. Further, placement test preparation has generally not included high school teachers. Shohamy points out the difficulties in bringing about programmatic change when teachers are not involved in the test-making process and when specific feedback is not provided to teachers and their students. Bachman (1990) believes that any test has potential diagnostic value; an early language assessment procedure could therefore be used to identify gaps—in student ability, in program goals, in teaching, and so on—and provide the type of specific feedback that Shohamy and Bachman advocate.

The Foreign Language Center's early assessment project will be modeled after the highly successful Early Mathematics Placement Testing Program (EMPT) developed by Ohio State's Department of Mathematics. The EMPT project has demonstrated that early assessment can help facilitate the transition between secondary and postsecondary mathematics programs. The EMPT program, which began in one area high school 10 years ago, now tests some 60,000 high school juniors annually. These students take the EMPT test and receive personal feedback about their mathematics skills and information about where their scores would place them at selected Ohio universities. The EMPT program has been highly successful at promoting longer sequences of mathematics study (senior-level math enrollments have risen dramatically), in reducing the number of students who need remedial work upon entering the university, and in saving taxpayers' and parents' money that would have been spent for remedial instruction. In addition to increases in placement test scores, the project has also helped to improve communication among high school mathematics teachers, college mathematics faculty, and high school guidance counselors. Such a test in foreign languages would clearly be a worthwhile component of a comprehensive articulation plan and would provide additional information that could help effect change in both secondary and postsecondary language programs.

Conclusion

The computer-adaptive placement test used at Ohio State University has proved to be a useful tool that provides information for decision making at many levels. The increased efficiency and flexibility with which information can be collected and analyzed allow a continuous flow of information both to the secondary language programs that supply students to Ohio State and to the language programs into which incoming students place. Given its past role in bringing about change and its future potential as an agent of change, the placement test will continue to be one of the important contributors to the dynamics of program building and reform.

Notes

1. This article was coauthored; authors' names are listed alphabetically.
2. The research described in this and the next sections was funded in part by a grant from Ohio State University's Center for Instructional Resources.
3. The Collaborative Articulation/Assessment Project described in this section is funded by a grant from the Fund for the Improvement of Post Secondary Education (FIPSE).

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Appendix

Additional Placement Test Questions

1. Enter your last name:
2. Enter your Social Security number:
3. Enter your gender (M or F):
4. Enter high school name:

   Enter the name of the STATE where the high school is located:

   Enter the name of the CITY where the high school is located:
5. In what year did you last study the language in which you are now testing? Enter a four-digit number. Example: 1991. Enter the year:
6. What was your yearly grade in the last language class you took? Enter only letter grades "A" through "F." If you did not take the language in a classroom setting, enter "N":
7. How much have you enjoyed your foreign language study to date? Enter a number from 0–5, 5 = very enjoyable:
8. How well do you feel that your high school foreign language program prepared you for university language study? Enter a number from 0–5, 5 = very prepared:
9. Do you have any study-abroad experience with the language in which you are now testing? (Y/N):
10. How many people in your immediate family are native speakers of the language in which you are now testing? Enter the appropriate number:
11. How much contact have you had with the language outside the classroom? Example: clubs, movies, pen-pals, etc. Enter a number from 0–5, 5 = lots of extra contact.

12. How important is it for you to know another language? Enter a number from 0–5, 5 = important:

13. The next three questions are about the language in which you are now testing:

    1. How many years of language did you take in grades 1–5? Enter a number between 0–5:

    2. How many years of language did you take in grades 6–8? Enter a number between 0–3:

    3. How many years of language did you take in grades 9–12? Enter a number between 0–4:

14. In your opinion, how much was SPEAKING emphasized in your high school language program? Enter a number from 0–5, 5 = very much emphasized:

15. In your opinion, how much was LISTENING emphasized in your high school language program? Enter a number from 0–5, 5 = very much emphasized:

16. In your opinion, how much was READING emphasized in your high school language program? Enter a number from 0–5, 5 = very much emphasized:

17. In your opinion, how much was WRITING emphasized in your high school language program? Enter a number from 0–5, 5 = very much emphasized:

18. In your opinion, how much was CULTURE emphasized in your high school language program? Enter a number from 0–5, 5 = very much emphasized:

19. How important is it to you to be able to SPEAK the language? Enter a number from 0–5, 5 = very important:

20. How important is it to you to be able to UNDERSTAND the spoken language? Enter a number from 0–5, 5 = very important:

21. How important is it to you to be able to READ the language? Enter a number from 0–5, 5 = very important:

22. How important is it to you to be able to WRITE the language? Enter a number from 0–5, 5 = very important:

23. How important is it to you to know about the CULTURE of the country/countries in which the language is spoken? Enter a number from 0–5, 5 = very important:

24. How well can you SPEAK the language? Enter a number from 0–5, 5 = very well:
25. How well can you UNDERSTAND the language? Enter a number from 0–5, 5 = very well:
26. How well can you READ the language? Enter a number from 0–5, 5 = very well:
27. How well can you WRITE the language? Enter a number from 0–5, 5 = very well:
28. How much do you know about the CULTURE of the country/countries in which the language is spoken? Enter a number from 0–5, 5 = very much:
29. Into which language course do you think you should place?

    1 = lst-quarter course

    2 = 2nd-quarter course

    3 = 3rd-quarter course

    4 = 4th-quarter course

    5 = place out of the language requirement.

    Enter a number from l–5:

Identifying and Instructing At-Risk Foreign Language Learners in College

Richard L. Sparks, College of Mount St. Joseph
Leonore Ganschow, Miami University

Who is the at-risk foreign language (FL) learner in college?[1] Does this student need a substantively different kind of instruction from other not-at-risk learners? What do FL educators, particularly teaching assistant (TA) coordinators, need to know about identifying and serving this population in college settings? More important in the present context, what do FL program coordinators need to know about this topic and pass on to their TAs?

We begin by introducing the reader to the idea that there are otherwise capable students who are at risk for FL study, and we describe a case study. We then provide a historical background review of at-risk learners, devoting considerable attention to research on the connections between native and FL learning. From there we move into the heart of the chapter, an explanation of what we believe FL educators should know about how to identify and serve at-risk FL learners. By chapter's end we hope to have provided FL educators with the answers to the questions we raised in our first paragraph.

At the outset, we should clarify our perspective as "outsiders" to the field of FL learning, our position on the relationship between native language and FL, and our belief that FL learning—like native language ability—exists on a continuum. Neither of us is a FL educator. However, we both have had extensive experience diagnosing and educating individuals with native language learning difficulties. Further, because of our interest in and concern for FL learners with known histories of native language learning problems (students with learning disabilities [LD]), we have conducted considerable research on at-risk FL learners in both high schools and colleges. As a result of these explorations, we support the position of FL researchers, such as Skehan (1986, 1991) and Carroll (1962, 1973), who suggest a positive relationship between one's native language aptitude and aptitude for learning another language. Skehan (1986) identifies this relationship when he says that FL aptitude is "the second or foreign language equivalent of a first language learning capacity" (pp. 200–01). In our review of relevant literature we provide empirical support for this position and show how variables such as anxiety, motivation, and learning styles, often thought to influence capacity to learn a FL, may be a result of relative difficulties with language. We call this the "linguistic coding deficit hypothesis" (LCDH), which is described and defended in the historical background review of at-risk learners. We also support Carroll's (1962) "model of school learning," which ascribes individual differences in FL learning to two major factors: the learner's overall language ability and variables related to instruction. We modify this model by suggesting that difficulty with one of the components of language—phonological processing—can affect overall language ability.

Case Study

John is a student enrolled in first-semester Spanish at a medium-size public university. He is in a class of 25 students and has failed each of the first four quizzes and the first examination. When called on in class, he seems eager to participate but rarely responds with a correct or complete answer. Poor pronunciation, lack of vocabulary knowledge, and inability to use correct grammar in the FL characterize his performance. Yet during conversations before and after class, the instructor finds that John's native language skills seem well developed. He is a verbal, animated, and personable individual. He has visited the instructor's office several times to ask for assistance and she has provided suggestions about ways in which he might improve his performance. During these conversations John told her that he had taken two years of Spanish in high school and had made mostly B grades in the first year and C grades in the second year. However, he confided that after two years of classes he still could not really speak or understand the language, and that his spelling in the FL was poor. He also indicated that his grades in other academic courses were usually A's and B's. Recently, the instructor has noticed that John is not raising his hand in class to volunteer answers and casts his eyes downward when she asks a question of the entire class. When called upon, he seems anxious and responds only with single, isolated words, or short phrases. Initially, John appeared motivated and had a positive attitude toward the class. Lately, he appears less motivated and comes unprepared to class.

Most FL instructors have encountered students such as John. Often, they will identify three, four, or even five students like him in a given introductory or intermediate class. John is an enigma because he seems to be bright and his native language listening and speaking skills appear to be commensurate with those of his classmates. What makes John different from other students who are able to learn a FL? Why do some students earn A's and B's in non-FL courses but achieve C's or lower in a FL course? Why do some students achieve B's in the first quarter of a FL course but then watch their FL grades decline in the second, third, and fourth quarters? Why do some students encounter so much failure in the FL, failing in one, two, or even three FLs?

In our view, John is an underachieving or at-risk FL learner. Pimsleur, Sundland, and McIntyre (1964) define FL underachievers as those who achieve average and above-average grades in their other subjects but struggle in a FL course. At-risk FL learners are those who have a history of: 1) native language learning problems (problems with reading, writing, listening, speaking); 2) FL learning problems; and/or 3) learning disabilities (LD; see references by Sparks, Ganschow, and colleagues). Early FL researchers such as Pimsleur, current ones such as Skehan, and native language educators such as ourselves have speculated that the at-risk, or underachieving, FL learner has an underlying native language deficit. This assumption forms the basis for our speculation that successful native language learning serves as the foundation for successful FL learning, a view that we have expressed in the LCDH (Sparks & Ganschow, 1991; Sparks, Ganschow & Pohlman, 1989). We also have hypothesized that affective factors such as low motivation, poor attitudes, and high anxiety for FL learning are generally the consequences of native language learning difficulties and their resulting effects on FL learning. Evidence for this speculation is presented next.

Historical Background of At-Risk FL Learners

Generally, FL educators have assumed that if students learn to speak and listen to their native language, they should have little difficulty learning a FL (Neufeld, 1978). Although Gardner (1985) suggests that this view fails to take note of the wide variations in native language skill development, since the 1970s FL educators have focused primarily on affective variables such as low motivation and negative attitudes (Gardner, 1985), high levels of anxiety (Horwitz & Young, 1991), ineffective use of language learning strategies (Oxford, 1990), or mismatch of teacher/student learning styles (Oxford, 1990) as explanations for failure to learn a FL. Until recently, the language-based nature of FL learning problems has been virtually unexplored. In the 1960s Pimsleur and others (Pimsleur, 1966b; Pimsleur, Sundland & McIntyre, 1964) studied FL "underachievers" and found that these students lacked "auditory ability," a skill characterized by poor sound discrimination and difficulty with sound-symbol learning. Harvard counselor Kenneth Dinklage described a population of students who were unable to fulfill that university's two-year FL requirement. Dinklage (1971) found that despite these students' above-average to superior intelligence, they exhibited FL learning problems in one or more of three distinct areas: 1) memory for sound and words; 2) reading and writing; and 3) listening and speaking. Dinklage compared these poor FL learners to students with dyslexia, or a reading disability. Carroll (1962, 1981, 1985) posited that FL aptitude consists of four language variables: phonetic coding, grammatical sensitivity, inductive language learning ability, and rote memory. These four variables comprise the Modern Language Aptitude Test (MLAT) (Carroll & Sapon, 1959). Despite the development of the MLAT and another FL aptitude test, Pimsleur's Language Aptitude Battery (LAB) (Pimsleur, 1966a), FL educators have not vigorously pursued language-based explanations for FL failure (Skehan, 1986).

In the 1980s anecdotal references to the FL learning difficulties of students with recognized language learning problems—students with LD—began to appear. (See Sparks, Ganschow & Javorsky, 1992, for a list of these references.) Here, inferences were made about the language-based nature of LD and the relationship of native language problems to difficulties with FL learning.[2] Levine (1987) described a variety of FL learning problems that students with LD were likely to encounter, which were similar to the problems they had encountered with native language learning. In our early explorations in the field, we examined the test profiles, native language learning histories, and FL learning histories of 22 students who had failed FL courses and subsequently been exempted from their university's FL requirement. All of the students were found to have difficulty with one or more aspects of their native language. From our case studies, we hypothesized that these at-risk FL learners had underlying "linguistic coding" deficits (see Vellutino & Scanlon, 1986) that hindered their learning of a FL. Those who had phonological (sound) difficulties (close to two-thirds of the students) failed the FL in the first or second semester of the first year.

The first empirical study of at-risk FL learners was conducted with college students with LD in the late 1980s. Gajar (1987) compared students' performance on the MLAT and found that students with LD scored significantly lower than FL-enrolled non-LD students on the MLAT Short and Long Forms and all its subtests. Ganschow, Sparks, Javorsky, Pohlman, and Bishop-Marbury (1991) compared the performance of 15 successful college FL learners (who achieved A or B averages in two semesters of college-level FL courses) and 15 unsuccessful college FL learners (who had failed and received a waiver from the college FL requirement) on a battery of intelligence, native oral and written language, and FL aptitude tests. No significant differences in intelligence were found between the two groups. However, significant group differences were found concerning native language measures of phonology (for example, spelling and word recognition) and syntax, but not semantics. Unsuccessful FL learners also scored significantly poorer on the MLAT Long and Short Forms and on specific MLAT subtests, which supported Gajar's study.

Since that time, we have conducted numerous empirical studies with good and poor FL learners. (See all references to Sparks, Ganschow, and their colleagues.) The results of these studies have shown that good and poor FL learners exhibit significant differences in their native language phonological (and sometimes, syntactic) skills and FL aptitude (as measured by the MLAT). For example, Sparks, Ganschow, Javorsky, Pohlman, and Patton (1992a) compared low-risk and high-risk high school students enrolled in first-year FL courses in college preparatory programs, using cognitive, native language, and FL aptitude measures. Significant differences between the two groups were found on all phonological and some syntactic measures and the MLAT Long and Short Forms. No significant group differences were found on semantic measures. In a related study, Sparks, Ganschow, Javorsky, Pohlman, and Patton (1992b) assessed a group of students with LD who were also enrolled in first-year FL courses and compared them to the low-risk and high-risk groups on the same cognitive, native language, and FL aptitude measures. Significant differences were found between the low-risk and LD groups on all phonological and syntactic measures. However, no significant differences were found between the high-risk (non-LD) and LD groups on most measures of phonology and syntax. Only the spelling measures differentiated the high-risk and LD groups. More importantly, no significant differences were found among the three groups on any of the semantic measures. Similar results have been obtained in studies with other secondary (Ganschow, Pohlman, Artzer & Skinner, 1992; Sparks & Ganschow, forthcoming a; Sparks & Ganschow, in preparation) and postsecondary level students (Ganschow, Sparks, Anderson, Javorsky, Skinner & Patton, forthcoming; Ganschow, Sparks, Javorsky, Pohlman & Bishop-Marbury, 1991). The studies also have not found verbal short-term memory differences between low-risk, high-risk, and LD learners enrolled in FL classes.

Other recent empirical studies we have conducted provide additional support for the LCDH. In a recent study, students with high levels of anxiety identified through Horwitz's Foreign Language Classroom Anxiety Scale (FLCAS) (Horwitz, Horwitz & Cope, 1986) were found to have significantly lower native language phonological and oral language skills and FL aptitude (on the MLAT) than students with low anxiety identified by the FLCAS (Ganschow, Sparks, Anderson, Javorsky, Skinner & Patton, forthcoming). We have also shown that students with lower levels of motivation or less positive attitudes toward FL learning have weaker native language skills (Javorsky, Sparks, & Ganschow, 1992; Sparks, Ganschow & Javorsky, forthcoming). In a recent study we found that two of the best four predictors of first-year, final FL grades (among a population of highly select high school females) were phonological measures (Sparks, Ganschow & Patton, submitted).[3] Research conducted with at-risk populations of college-bound students taking FL courses has consistently shown that at-risk students have weaker phonological (and sometimes, syntactic) skills than semantic skills, and have FL aptitude standard scores on the MLAT below their native language scores.[4]

The results of these studies have led the authors to speculate the following: 1) difficulties with the meaning of language (semantics) and rote memory are not primarily responsible for the FL learning problems of at-risk and LD learners; 2) the efficiency of the linguistic codes may play a large part in one's success or failure in FL courses; 3) affective differences are likely, in most cases, to be the consequence of native language and FL learning problems; 4) difficulties with the phonology of language are related to FL learning problems in otherwise high-achieving secondary and postsecondary students; 5) high-risk FL learners who have not been identified as having LD perform similarly on native language and FL aptitude tests when compared to diagnosed LD students who have identified native language learning problems; and 6) problem FL learners are a heterogeneous group—there is not a distinct population of students with a "foreign language learning disability." Based on our investigations to date, we would suggest that FL learning problems occur along a continuous distribution of very strong to very weak FL learners and that there may be distinct "prototypes" of good and poor FL learners (see Sparks & Ganschow, 1993; Sparks, Ganschow & Javorsky, forthcoming).

Identification of FL Learning Problems

How might a FL educator determine if a student is likely to be at risk for FL learning problems before he or she begins a FL class or evaluate a student who is currently having difficulty in a FL class? FL educators are not psychoeducational diagnosticians, nor should they be required to become proficient in the diagnostic evaluation process. However, it is possible for FL educators to become familiar with ways in which to assess informally students with FL learning difficulties and to draw upon assessment results prior to referring a student to the college handicapped student services or LD coordinator for diagnosis. Elsewhere, we have described an assessment battery that can be used by diagnosticians, counselors, or other school personnel who regularly conduct thorough psychoeducational evaluations (Ganschow & Sparks, 1993; Sparks, Ganschow & Javorsky, 1992). The battery draws upon the "linguistic coding deficit" model in its selection of tests and is presented here.

A brief but comprehensive evaluation for the assessment of secondary and postsecondary students with FL learning problems involves four components: 1) review of the student's developmental history; 2) review of the student's academic learning history; 3) review of the student's FL learning history; and 4) administration of standardized and nonstandardized measures of native language skills and FL aptitude.

Review of Developmental History

When asking questions about students' developmental history, a FL educator is seeking information that might reveal a history of difficulty with language development. For example, students with FL learning problems have often been found to have histories of speech articulation difficulties, delayed development of language, and speech/language therapy before the age of 10. An early family history of speech and language difficulties is often the precursor of later native language reading and writing difficulties (Catts & Kamhi, 1987; Wallach & Butler, 1984). We have also found that native language learning problems may be related to later FL learning problems (Ganschow & Sparks, 1991).

Review of Academic History

Reviewing copies of a student's high school and college transcripts can be revealing. Often, a perceptive reviewer will notice lower grades in English courses or in subjects that involved larger amounts of reading and writing than in other academic courses. Some students with FL learning difficulties will say that they disliked reading, spelling, and English more than other courses and will report having had difficulties with reading and spelling in the primary grades. Often they will note that they did poorly in "phonics" lessons in the first and second grades. Sometimes students' early difficulties in reading were so pronounced that they were enrolled in remedial reading courses or received private tutoring in reading and spelling. Some students will reveal that they are still not very good spellers, dislike reading, and rarely read for pleasure. Finally, students may have chosen a major or course of study that does not depend heavily on reading and writing. The presence of problems such as these is a diagnostic indicator of possible native language learning difficulties.

Review of FL Learning History

The primary purpose in this part of the review is to ask the student to describe his or her FL learning difficulties. If a student was previously enrolled in FL courses at any level, a FL educator should ask the student to provide his or her grades in those courses because it may be only in the FL that significant language learning problems occur. In many cases the student with FL learning difficulties did not fail the FL course(s), but did achieve low grades. Often, this student made lower grades in his or her FL courses than in other academic courses. Usually, students with FL learning problems will explicitly state the problems they have experienced in FL classrooms. Common problems include inability to comprehend sentences or questions in the FL, difficulty formulating oral responses, difficulty with pace of the FL (that is, time allowed by the instructor to comprehend and/or speak the FL), presentation of too much course material at one time, instructor talking too fast, difficulty with grammar, and inability to spell words in the FL. Most students with FL learning problems do not describe difficulties with the rote memory aspects of the FL course, nor do they experience problems with the learning of vocabulary words and short phrases. However, they do admit experiencing problems when the vocabulary and phrases are combined with the grammatical rules of the FL and are then used in conversation. They often have great difficulty with written quizzes and exams. Students with FL learning difficulties may do somewhat better with oral tests, but their performance begins to erode when the amount and difficulty of the course content increases.

Standardized and Nonstandardized Testing

Although most FL educators are not trained to administer tests, some specific measures of native language skill and FL aptitude are not difficult to use and can greatly assist the FL educator in determining if a student has language learning problems or if a specific "linguistic coding deficit" is present. Students with FL learning problems will rarely exhibit "global" native language learning deficits, that is, native language deficits in the phonological, syntactic, and semantic codes. Most of these students have obtained average or better grades in college preparatory courses in high school because their language comprehension and vocabulary skills were intact. Thus they were expected to do well in FL courses. Generally, the student with FL learning problems will exhibit a deficit in a specific linguistic code (phonology, syntax, or semantics). Research conducted by the authors has shown that the deficit usually occurs in the phonological (sound) and sometimes in the syntactic (grammar) codes.

Although measures of aptitude have not been popular in FL circles for a number of years (see Skehan, 1986), the authors have found them helpful in distinguishing low- and high-risk FL learners when they are interpreted within the context of the linguistic coding hypothesis: if a student has low FL aptitude, he or she is likely to have a native language linguistic coding deficit(s). The MLAT (Carroll & Sapon, 1959), which can be administered in approximately one hour, is composed of subtests that measure four independent variables that contribute to FL learning: 1) phonetic coding; 2) grammatical sensitivity; 3) inductive language learning ability; and 4) rote memory. In our experience, most students with FL learning difficulties score below the 50th percentile on the MLAT Long Form. Because the MLAT is composed of four separate independent variables, it is conceivable that a student might score above the 50th percentile on some subtests (for example, rote memory) and below the 50th percentile on others (for example, phonetic coding or grammar), but still obtain an overall average score on the Long Form. Thus, each MLAT subtest must be evaluated independently and then compared to a similar measure of native language skill (for example, MLAT Phonetic Coding with native language pseudo-word reading and phonemic awareness; MLAT Words in Sentences with native language grammar).[5] Pimsleur's LAB (Pimsleur, 1966a) is also helpful in diagnosing "linguistic coding" deficits. Subtests III (Vocabulary) and IV (Language Analysis) comprise a Verbal Ability score and measure semantic and syntactic skills. Subtests V (Sound Discrimination) and VI (Sound-Symbol Association) comprise an Auditory Ability score and measure phonology. The entire test requires only 40 minutes to administer. The LAB yields a Total Test Score, but it would not be surprising to find moderate to significant variation between the Verbal Ability and Auditory Ability subtest scores. Generally, students with FL learning difficulties will have a lower score on the Auditory Ability (phonological) subtests, which will co-occur with native language phonological problems. (See Table 1 for descriptions of the MLAT and LAB.)

Table 1

List and Description of Foreign Language Aptitude Tests

Modern Language Aptitude Test (MLAT): Tests foreign language aptitude using a simulated format to provide an indication of probable degree of success in learning a foreign language; includes five subtests. The Long Form consists of all five subtests and the Short Form consists of three subtests (III, IV, and V). The subtests are:

Part I (Number Learning): Student learns numbers of a made-up language, and then transcribes spoken number words into written digits on hearing them presented rapidly.

Part II (Phonetic Script): Student listens to a sequence of syllables (many with no meaning in English) while looking at their graphemic transcriptions and is asked to quickly learn how the sounds (phonemes) correspond to the letters (graphemes).

Part III (Spelling Clues): Student reads English words presented as abbreviated spellings (for example, "luv") and then chooses the one word (out of five) that corresponds most nearly in meaning (for example, carry, exist, affection, wash, spy).

Part IV (Words in Sentences): Student reads a "key" sentence in which a word is underlined, reads another sentence in which five words and phrases are marked as possible choices, and chooses the word or phrase in the second sentence that has the same grammatical function as the marked word or phrase has in the "key" sentence.

Part V (Paired Associates): Student studies a list of nonsense words with their assigned English meanings.

Pimsleur Language Aptitude Battery (LAB): Tests foreign language aptitude using four factors thought to contribute to success in foreign language learning; includes six subtests. The LAB yields a Total Test score (Subtests 1–6), a Verbal Ability score (Subtests 3 and 4), and an Auditory Ability score (Subtests 5 and 6). The subtests are:

Part 1:Grade point average in academic areas other than foreign language.
Part 2: Interest in learning a foreign language.
Part 3: Vocabulary—word knowledge in English.
Part 4: Language Analysis—ability to reason logically in terms of a foreign language.
Part 5: Sound Discrimination—ability to learn new phonetic distinctions and to recognize them in different contexts.
Part 6: Sound-Symbol Association—association of sounds with their written symbols.

If FL educators are knowledgeable about standardized tests, they could administer tests of native language skill. In most cases, however, this type of testing should be administered by a trained psychoeducational specialist. In the native language areas, it is important to obtain measures of phonology, syntax, and semantics. Phonological testing can be accomplished by using word recognition, pseudo-word (nonsense-word) reading, spelling, and phonemic awareness measures.[6] Syntactic testing can be implemented by asking the student to provide a spontaneous writing sample about a specific topic. (Also, the oral interview provides an excellent sample of a student's syntactic skills in his or her native language.) Semantic testing can be accomplished by the administration of a reading comprehension test and vocabulary, analogy, and antonym/synonym measures. A comprehensive battery of tests and their diagnostic use in each of these three linguistic codes has been described in detail elsewhere (see Ganschow & Sparks, 1993; Sparks & Ganschow, 1993; Sparks, Ganschow & Javorsky, 1992). A list of these tests is provided in Table 2.

Table 2

List of Test Instruments to Measure Native Language Linguistic Coding Skills

PHONOLOGY

- *Woodcock Reading Mastery Test-Revised (WRMT-R),* Forms G and H:
    - Word Identification Subtest
    - Word Attack Subtest
- *Woodcock-Johnson Psycho-Educational Battery (WJPEB)* and *Woodcock-Johnson-Revised (WJ-R):*
    - Letter-Word Identification Subtest
    - Word Attack Subtest
- *Lindamood Auditory Conceptualization Test (LAC),* Forms A and B
- *Wide Range Achievement Test-Revised (WRAT-R):* Spelling *Goldman-Fristoe-Woodcock Sound-Symbol Tests (GFW):*
    - Spelling of Sounds Subtest

SYNTAX

- *Test of Written Language-2 (TOWL-2),* Forms A and B[1]
- *WJPEB Written Language Cluster*
    - Dictation Subtest
    - Proofing Subtest
- Informal Writing Sample

SEMANTICS

- *Peabody Picture Vocabulary Test-Revised (PPVT-R),* Forms L and M
- *Woodcock-Johnson Psychoeducational Battery (WJPEB):*
    - Antonyms-Synonyms Subtest
    - Picture Vocabulary Subtest
    - Analogies Subtest
- *Woodcock Reading Mastery Test-Revised (WRMT-R):*
    - Word Comprehension Subtest
    - Passage Comprehension Subtest
- *Test of Language Competence-Expanded Edition (TLC-E)*[1]
- *Test of Adolescent Language-2 (TOAL-2)*[1]

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[1] *Vogel (1986) has found that most standardized oral and written language tests are not normed on young adults. The TOWL-2, TLC-E and TOAL-2, although not normed on college-age students, may be used with a college population, however, if a comprehensive language battery is needed.*

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Analysis of Data

In most cases, students with FL learning difficulties will exhibit a problem in at least one, and sometimes two, of the linguistic codes. Generally, the difficulties will not be so severe that a student's native language deficit(s) are obvious to the FL educator. Instead, the deficits are subtle and must be found through diagnostic testing. The student's self-reported developmental, academic, and FL histories may provide data that help in decisions about in-class accommodations, FL course placement, or referral for further testing. If FL educators do some of their own testing, they should look for problems in one or more of the linguistic codes. On FL aptitude tests, for example, students with subtle native language learning difficulties typically achieve scores that range from the 25th to 50th percentile. On the LAB the Auditory Ability (phonological) score would usually be lower than the Verbal Ability score. Generally, the native language profile that a student with FL learning difficulties will display is to score at or above the 50th percentile in two linguistic codes (syntax and semantics) and in the 25th to 50th percentile in the other code (phonology). Table 3 depicts both good and poor FL learner "prototypes." Three of the poor FL learners exhibit linguistic coding deficits. The other poor FL learner possesses average to above-average "linguistic coding" skills in all three "codes," but suffers from affective intrusions (for example, low motivation, high level of anxiety). Generally, we have found this latter "prototype" to be doing poorly in all of his or her school subjects. (See case study in Sparks & Ganschow, 1993.) The poor FL learner with low phonological skills but strong semantic skills is likely to be the most common "prototype" (Sparks & Ganschow, 1993).

The four-part diagnostic process outlined here may require some new learning by FL educators. However, the potential positive outcomes of implementing the process means that students can be quickly evaluated and then provided with appropriate assistance to deal with their FL learning difficulties.

Instructing At-Risk FL Learners

Interventions for at-risk learners range on a continuum from modest accommodations in regular classroom settings (the least restrictive alternative) to waiver/course substitution (the most drastic alternative). Each alternative is described here, along with suggestions for who should be considered for this alternative and what FL educators should know about the alternative. Table 4 depicts this continuum and options within it.

Table 3

Prototypes of Student Profiles Based on LCDH

Successful foreign language learner	At-risk foreign language learner	At-risk foreign language learner	At-risk foreign language learner*	"Unsuccessful" foreign language learner
High semantics	Low semantics	High semantics	Low semantics	High semantics
High syntax	High/Low syntax	High/Low syntax	Low syntax	High syntax
High phonology	High phonology	Low phonology	Low phonology	High phonology
No difference in IQ (Average/above average)			Low average/ Below average IQ	Average/above average IQ Affective "intrusions" Poor grades in most subjects

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**We call this at-risk learner the "garden variety" poor foreign language learner (Sparks & Ganschow, 1993). "Garden variety" is a term coined by Gough and Tunmer (1986) to describe individuals with reading problems who exhibit "lags," or low-average and below-average performance not only on an intelligence test but also in all oral and written language skills (word recognition, reading comprehension, spelling, listening comprehension, speaking).*

Table 4

Continuum of Interventions for Students with FL Learning Problems

LEAST RESTRICTIVE

Mild to moderate language difficulties	**In-class accommodations**
	compensatory strategies
	tutorial support
	modification of pace
	simultaneous oral and visual presentation
	preselect FL of instruction
Moderate to severe language difficulties	**Separate course placement**
	intensive focus on structure of native language (i.e., focus on phonology and grammar)
	FL course substitution
	culture and civilization
Most severe language difficulties	linguistics
	literature
	computer
	sign language
	FL course waiver

MOST RESTRICTIVE

Within-Classroom Accommodations

The least restrictive alternative for at-risk learners is within-classroom accommodations, suggested for students with mild to moderate language difficulties in native language and FL aptitude. Accommodations include: (1) provision of compensatory strategies; (2) tutorial support; (3) modified pace of instruction; (4) simultaneous oral and visual presentation of classroom instruction; and (5) selection of a FL appropriate for a given student.

Compensatory Strategies

In LD research numerous strategies are reported to be helpful for students (see Mangrum & Strichart, 1988; Vogel, 1986), and many are required by law for students identified as handicapped (Section 504). In self-reports of a group of identified students with LD enrolled in FL courses, many of the strategies reported were found to be more essential, desirable, or necessary for these learners than for non-LD FL learners (Javorsky, Sparks & Ganschow, 1992). Table 5 presents a list of some of these strategies. Perhaps surprising to FL educators is one finding of the Javorsky et al. study that auditory tapes were significantly less helpful to these at-risk learners than to non–LD learners. The results are not surprising, however, in light of research that has shown that students with native language learning problems, including phonological deficits, have relatively weaker listening skills (see Sparks & Ganschow, forthcoming b). FL educators who have struggling at-risk learners should request a meeting with the student to discuss ideas for accommodations. We have talked with students who have worked out "deals" with their professors, such as not being required to respond orally in class or being allowed to take exams in an alternative manner. With these modest compensations, some students have been able to complete a FL course sequence successfully.

Tutorial Support

Tutoring remains the most common support option available for at-risk FL learners (Ganschow, Myer & Roeger, 1989). We recommend that the FL educator encourage the student to seek tutoring at the first sign of a problem. If the student has a documented LD, the coordinator for handicapped student services should be called upon to assist the tutor and instructor in planning the tutoring sessions. The tutor and instructor together should monitor the student's progress and look for strategies the student might use in order to experience success in the FL. Here we would emphasize careful structuring of the lesson, distributed practice, and simultaneous oral and

Table 5

Compensatory Strategies for At-Risk FL Learners

- Untimed tests
- Taking exams in separate rooms (distraction-free environment)
- Essay exams rather than objective exams; oral rather than written exams
- Seating in front row near instructor
- Making syllabus available before official start of class
- Allowances for misspelling, especially in test situations
- Selection of professor who understands student needs for compensatory strategies and is willing to accommodate him or her

visual presentation of materials by the tutor so the student can both see and hear what is presented. Together tutor and instructor should document the student's sessions, especially if the student fails to progress. Should progress not be made, the student should be referred for a diagnostic evaluation, and documentation by the tutor and instructor of a concerted effort on the part of the student should be provided.

Instructional Pace

Because the pace of instruction in a college-level FL course is usually considerably faster than it is in a high school course, we generally recommend that an at-risk FL student repeat the same language in college. This way, the student will have a "head start" on the language. Nonetheless, in our experience, by the end of the first semester at-risk learners have lost the initial gain of several years of high school instruction. Unfortunately, individualizing instructional pace is not a realistic option in most FL settings. However, some success has been reported where separate classrooms are created for these learners to allow for a slowed-down curriculum and extensive opportunities for practice (Downey & Hill, 1992). Experimentation in regular classrooms, for the most part, has consisted of audiotaped instruction where students listen to and work at their own pace. As mentioned earlier, however, audiotapes alone have not been reported to be particularly helpful, according to self-reports of a group of at-risk learners (Javorsky, Sparks & Ganschow, 1992). In general, FL educators should be sensitive to the fact that not all learners can proceed at the same pace. To the extent possible, students who could learn with a slowed-down pace should be counseled on ways to obtain additional practice—for example, by taking fewer courses during the period of FL study or interspersing easy with difficult courses. Careful monitoring by students of their amount of studying is advised.

Simultaneous Oral and Visual Presentation

Another classroom compensatory strategy found to be beneficial to both at-risk and non-at-risk students is combined oral and visual presentation of material. The assumption here is that students who have difficulty hearing the breakdown of a stream of sound into individual words and who have not internalized the spellings of the words represented orally will benefit by simultaneously hearing and seeing the language (Bilyeu, 1982). Students might be presented with simple scripts to follow as the instructor verbalizes the language. Further enhancement of these language structures could occur if the students simultaneously see, say, and then write the language structures. The FL instructor might try this approach a few times and obtain feedback from his or her class. Handouts might be made for those students who indicate that they benefit from this approach.

Language of Instruction

Certain languages may be more beneficial than others for given students, depending on their language strengths and weaknesses and the instructional orientation (Downey & Hill, 1992; Fisher, 1986; Ganschow & Sparks, 1987). However, to date, there is no empirical evidence to support this speculation. We are currently examining the case of one student who repeatedly failed French and Spanish but is succeeding well in Latin. The student has above-average phonological skills and average to above average syntactic skills but has weak semantic ability. (See "prototype" in Table 3 and the case study in Sparks & Ganschow, 1993.) Downey and Hill (1992) have reported anecdotally that they have begun to try to identify students for a particular FL based on individual diagnostic profiles. Based on research in native language learning, however, Sparks and Ganschow (forthcoming b) have hypothesized that long-term phonological deficits have an impact not only on reading and writing skills but also on listening comprehension and oral expression. Thus, the learning of a FL in which listening and speaking are necessary may be extremely difficult for students with phonological, syntactic, and/or semantic deficits.

Separate Course Placement for At-Risk Learners

Next on the continuum of instructional alternatives is separate course placement, recommended for students with moderate-to-severe language difficulties who have experienced FL failure and frustration. This alternative, not commonly found in either high schools or colleges/universities, has met with success in several schools that have reported this option. Examples of separate course placements include: an alternative course on the structure of native language, reported at Boston University (DeMuth & Smith, 1987); a specialized one- to two-year high school FL course emphasizing multisensory instruction and direct teaching of the phonology and grammar, reported at two private college-preparatory schools in Cleveland and Baltimore (Sparks & Ganschow, forthcoming a; Sparks, Ganschow, Kenneweg & Miller, 1991; Sparks, Ganschow, Pohlman, Skinner & Artzer, 1992); and a two-semester course designed especially for at-risk learners, emphasizing careful structuring and sequencing of the FL in a success-oriented environment with small class size, reported at the University of Colorado (Downey & Hill, 1992).

FL educators should be aware that a separate class placement option takes time to plan, background knowledge on how to structure the classroom and materials, and a commitment by the school to provide the necessary resources and staff training.

FL Course Substitutions/Waivers

This alternative is recommended for students with severe native language difficulties (especially in phonology) and weak FL aptitude. The waiver/substitution is recommended if the school cannot provide direct remediation utilizing specially trained FL staff. Generally, the student will have a history of unsuccessful attempts at learning a FL or extreme difficulty, often dating back to high school or earlier. The student will often have a documented early history (in grade school) of LD.

To implement this alternative, the FL educator will need to contact the academic dean's office to inquire about the college's FL course waiver/substitution policy. A recent survey of FL petition policies and procedures at colleges and universities across the country (Ganschow, Myer & Roeger, 1989) showed that most of the responding colleges required study of FL in at least one program area. Over 60% of the responding schools had a policy for waiver/substitution, but it was usually part of the general petition process at the college. The FL educator can help the failing student gather documentation to support the student's petition. This documentation should include a letter from the FL instructor documenting the student's attempts to learn the FL and types of problems encountered. The FL educator should refer the failing student to the appropriate advocate on campus, usually either the coordinator for handicapped services, an LD coordinator, or an office of learning assistance. Should the university not have a petition process, the reader is referred to articles that describe how to advocate for a procedure at a college or university (Freed, 1987; Philips, Ganschow & Anderson, 1991).

Obviously, the waiver/course substitution is an extreme alternative and should be used only when all else has failed. However, it should be a viable option to avoid the following: 1) the student dropping out of school or going on probation because other courses suffer at the expense of hours spent on FL study; 2) the student having to change majors; or 3) the student moving from one FL to another because he or she cannot complete the commonly expected two-year FL requirement.

Summary

At the beginning of this chapter we asked: 1) who is the at-risk FL learner? 2) what do FL educators and TA coordinators need to know about identifying and instructing this population and be able to pass on to their TAs? and 3) does the at-risk FL learner need a substantively different kind of instruction from the non-at-risk FL learner? We summarize our responses to these questions here.

The at-risk FL learner is a student who has a history of subtle or overt oral and/or written native language learning problems. This student may or may not have been diagnosed as having a learning disability (LD). The at-risk learner may have avoided taking a FL in high school, failed a FL in high school or college, or passed the FL course but exhibited difficulty with FL learning. When tested, the student generally has difficulties with one or more of the "linguistic codes," usually the phonological code. However, there is a small number of students who have strong phonological skills, but who exhibit weak syntactic and/or semantic skills.

FL educators can participate in the screening of students with FL learning problems by following a four-step diagnostic process. A review of the student's developmental and academic histories will often reveal overt or subtle native language learning difficulties, particularly with reading, spelling, and written language. Sometimes, the at-risk FL learner has an early history of speech and language difficulties. Often, the at-risk FL learner has struggled with, barely passed, or failed in previous FL courses. Although the FL educator generally does not administer diagnostic tests, it is possible for a FL instructor to administer a FL aptitude test and/or selected nonstandardized, native language measures.

The at-risk FL learner usually will require a modified form of instruction in order to experience success. The continuum of instructional alternatives ranges from least restrictive alternatives for those students with mild and moderate language difficulties to most restrictive alternatives for those students with the most severe language difficulties. With supportive FL instructors who are willing to modify the language curriculum in appropriate ways, many at-risk FL learners may be able to have a successful FL learning experience.

Notes

1. The authors contributed equally in the preparation of this chapter.
2. In the 1970s LDs were thought to be perceptually-based, that is, based on problems with "visual" or "auditory" perception. However, there is now much converging evidence indicating that LDs are the result of language-based difficulties (Stanovich, 1986; Vellutino, 1979; Wallach & Butler, 1984; Wiig & Semel, 1980). Generally, students with LD exhibit a discrepancy between their overall intellectual ability on a standardized test of intelligence (IQ) and academic achievement in one of seven areas: 1) basic reading skill; 2) reading comprehension; 3) written language; 4) oral expression; 5) listening comprehension; 6) math calculation; and 7) math reasoning. We note, however, that the discrepancy definition of LD has encountered increasing criticism on both empirical and psychometric grounds (see, for example, Stanovich, 1991).
3. A regression analysis performed on the data yielded a best four model for predicting FL grade: 1) eighth grade English grade; 2) MLAT Long Form; 3) spelling, as measured by the WRAT—R Spelling subtest; and 4) phonemic awareness, as measured by the Lindamood Auditory Conceptualization Test (LAC) (see Sparks and Ganschow, 1993, for a description of the WRAT-R and LAC).
4. For example, at-risk FL learners generally score in the average and above-average range on native language semantic and syntactic mea-

sures. Their native language phonological scores are usually in the low-average to below-average range. In most cases, their score on the Long and Short Forms of the MLAT are lower than their scores on native language phonological measures.

5. We generally do not recommend administering only the MLAT Short Form because it omits Subtest II, Phonetic Coding, a measure of phonology. Subtest III, which is included in the Short Form, has been described by Carroll (1985) as a "disguised" vocabulary test. However, it is in part a measure of phonology because the student must "crack" a phonological code to access the vocabulary.
6. The use of the term "phonology" does not refer primarily to the ability to pronounce words in either the native language or the FL. It may include pronunciation but refers specifically to the ability to learn sound (phoneme)/symbol (grapheme) correspondences and discriminate speech sounds. Phonemic awareness involves "meta-awareness" of the phonological system of a language because a student must be able to segment phonemes within words (for example, *clump* has five phonemes, c-l-u-m-p) and identify sound segments in words.

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After the Classroom Visit: A Model for the Preparation of Peer Supervisors

Robert L. Davis, University of Oregon
Joan F. Turner, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill

The reinstatement of the language requirement in many universities has brought an upsurge in language class enrollments, resulting in an increased number of sections of courses, and consequently in a greater reliance on graduate teaching assistants (TAs) for staffing.[1] As a rule, TAs are called upon to teach in their first term of graduate work, with only brief preteaching orientation sessions augmented by a methodology course during the initial semester. Schulz (1980) reports that the impact of the increase in language course sections has been felt by the typical language program director, who is often unable to supervise effectively a large body of novice teachers. The burdensome task of supervision is often delegated to peer supervisors, who typically monitor TAs' progress by means of two class visits per term and postvisit conferences. Peer supervisors are usually either advanced TAs who have taught most of the courses in the language sequence, TAs who have a background in education, or lecturers.[2] These individuals are pressed into service for purely pragmatic reasons (most often, heavy demands on the program director's time), and while they may be able to recognize effective teaching, they are often at a loss as to how to proceed when the observed class is not up to the department's standards.

In the ideal world, the university's center for teaching and learning would prepare peer supervisors for carrying out their varied responsibilities by means of microteaching, critiquing videotapes, using classroom observation instruments, and conducting debriefing sessions. Mason (1992), in fact, goes so far as to recommend that advanced TAs be provided with a course in language program direction that includes the study of classroom observation and debriefing. But in most cases the issue of preparation is not addressed at all, and peer supervisors often have their own trial by fire. The novice TA is not alone in dreading the classroom visit and subsequent conference; the new supervisor is often poorly equipped to handle the meeting with the TA after the classroom visit.

To address this frequent lack of preparation for peer supervisors, the authors have devised a development program that can be conducted either prior to the start of classes or in a few short sessions held during the fall term. The program employs a variety of formats (lecture, videotape viewing, role playing, computer tutorial, and discussion) and provides peer supervisors with vital preparation in the following components: models of supervision, planning the classroom visit, use of a classroom observation instrument and its relationship to effective foreign language teaching, debriefing procedures, and remediation strategies. An outline of these components is given in Table 1 with a description of the type of activity and an approximate time for each. In the remainder of this chapter we discuss in turn the rationale and implementation of each component.

Table 1

Workshop for the Preparation of Peer Supervisors

Component	**Activity Type**	**Time**
Models of supervision	Lecture/discussion	30 min.
Planning the classroom visit	Lecture/discussion	15 min.
Effective teaching and the evaluation instrument	Lecture/discussion	40 min.
Writing the narrative and evaluative comments	Lecture/discussion	30 min.
Observation and debriefing, 1	Hands-on	30 min.
Debriefing pointers		15 min.
Observation and debriefing, 2	Hands-on	45 min.
Remediation techniques	Group discussion/ individual study	——

Models of Supervision

In a multisection course the supervisor juggles a number of roles, both formative and summative. In this first component the new peer supervisors are exposed to a quick survey of the various models of supervision that are available to help them realize the variety of supervisory tasks required of them.

New TAs need formative guidance in carrying out the goals that the director has set for the program. For example, TAs must be introduced to various ways to orient instruction toward proficiency goals in language instruction. More experienced TAs need supervisory visits to monitor the techniques they are using and discuss their congruence with program goals. In the summative mode, the peer supervisor assists the director in the process of evaluating teachers. Based on their classroom visit reports, peer supervisors are called upon to recommend that TAs be assigned to a more advanced course, be given more than one section to teach, remain in the same level course, or be required to perform remedial activities such as visiting peer classes.

The literature presents a number of options for implementation of supervision; these include the direct or indirect models, both of which have advantages and disadvantages depending on the professional development of the TA. In the direct model, the supervisor points out problematic teaching behaviors and then offers possible remedies to the TA. Such prescriptive measures may be well received by the inexperienced TA who is only too happy to find a concrete solution to a problem. Direct supervision, then, is a response to the TA who does not have a wide repertoire of techniques to refer to. On the other hand, such a model can arouse feelings of hostility and defensiveness on the part of the TA who resents the implication that only one way exists to produce a certain result. Most important, the direct model does not encourage reflective thinking on the part of the TA or prompt TAs to become decision makers who take responsibility for their own actions.

One model of indirect supervision is Freeman's (1982) alternative supervision. Here the focus is neither prescriptive nor judgmental. Rather, the supervisor acquaints the instructor with alternative behaviors that might produce better results. The instructor is then invited to select among the alternatives and to study the consequences of each.

Another type of indirect supervision is Cogan's (1973) clinical supervision. Here the supervisor and instructor participate in collaborative problem solving during which they create hypotheses and implement strategies that suggest solutions. The process consists of dialogue between the supervisor and the instructor about the latter's assessment of the success of the class. The conversation enables the supervisor to understand the instructor's goals, problems, and successes without becoming judgmental. It also allows the supervisor to make suggestions and to have input without exercising an authoritarian role. Clinical supervision is thought to increase the bond of trust between supervisor and instructor because they both share in the responsibility for remediation. Instructors can also gain confidence about their own decision-making skills.

Clinical supervision is not, however, an immediate choice in the selection of supervisory options. An inexperienced teacher might become anxious or even alienated when faced with the probing questions of the supervisor. Since the supervisor has been trained not to be judgmental, the teacher might demand something like, "Just tell me what you're looking for and I'll do it." Another reaction common to novice teachers is, "How am I supposed to know what would work? I don't have any experience. You're the expert." Clinical supervision does imply an equality or partnership in the teaching situation. Consequently, the inexperienced teacher may benefit from visits to a master class, for example, and more in-class experience before clinical supervision is considered an option.

In sum, peer supervisors must be made aware that there exist a number of well-articulated models for carrying out supervision of teachers. Each model has its own motivations and techniques, such that supervisors can draw on the various models in order to meet the needs of a particular interaction with a teacher.

Planning the Classroom Visit

Being observed by any supervisor is an intimidating experience for most teachers, and a visit by a peer supervisor poses additional problems. We have included this component on planning the visit to address general as well as specific concerns of the peer interaction related to observation. This component also provides a chance to introduce or remind supervisors of departmental policy on carrying out observations. In general, the supervisor should be as unobtrusive as possible so that the class can proceed in its normal manner. Supervisors might find it helpful to do some outside reading on the etiquette of classroom visits before they carry out observations (see, for example, Master, 1983; Murphy, 1992). Below we list some of the other issues that contribute to successful classroom visits.

Timing is especially important in carrying out classroom observation. In the ideal case, the supervisor should try to allow two hours for each visit: one hour for the classroom visit itself and another for the after-class TA debriefing. In some universities, TA unions require a 48-hour warning to be given before the visit. With so much lead time, one might object, the supervisor may well end up viewing a class that is "staged"; however, in truth, the warning time allows TAs to prepare their best possible class, so that the observer gets an idea of the TA's fullest potential. More importantly, advance warning often helps alleviate at least some of the anxiety that TAs face during the observation process.

Supervisors often find it helpful to have a copy of the textbook, the syllabus, and other course materials. At the very least the supervisor should review the TA's lesson plan before the visit, and at best, the supervisor and TA should actually meet ahead of time, albeit briefly, to discuss the goals of the class, the background of the students, problems that can be anticipated, and any other factors. If the supervisor is teaching or coordinating the same course, his or her visit will be even more effective because of familiarity with the teaching situation.

The supervisor should find the classroom beforehand and arrive early; often useful information can be gleaned simply by listening to students as they enter the classroom and chat among themselves. Opinions regarding the need to remain for the entire class are varied. For some supervisors, a visit that lasts for half the class gives an adequate picture of the instructor's style and teaching effectiveness. Other supervisors believe it is important to see all the components of the class hour—from the warm-up to the closure; moreover, in some cases it may be disruptive for the supervisor to leave in the middle of the class. In either case, a supervisor should always thank the instructor when ending the visit.

Effective Teaching and the Evaluation Instrument

This component consists of an informal lecture or interactive discussion with peer supervisor trainees about the notion of effective teaching. Usually peer supervisors are chosen for those positions because they have shown themselves to be master teachers in the classroom; however, our thesis is that in spite of their success—often due to intuition about what works in the classroom, or being a "natural"—they often are not articulate in communicating to others what they actually do to achieve that success. The evaluation form used in a classroom observation serves as an organizer for a discussion in which peer supervisors learn to manipulate the vocabulary of effective teaching behaviors and raise their awareness of classroom dynamics and interactions. Obviously, observers must be very aware of the categories on the evaluation list, and this is their opportunity to familiarize themselves with it. Many of the items on the list represent problems that the new peer supervisors have never encountered in their own teaching, but they must be sensitized to those issues if they are to recognize them in the classrooms of their peers.[3]

The evaluation instrument that we have devised is motivated by the hypotheses and corollaries of the proficiency orientation, as outlined in Omaggio (1985). Of course, historically relevant means of teaching language (ALM, Direct Method, and so on) exist and their methodologies could be represented on an evaluation form, but both of the authors include proficiency among the goals of their language programs. Proficiency, as an organizing principle, is not a methodology, with specified techniques motivated by theory-internal principles. In this sense it is quite different from ALM, for example, where teachers had specific guidelines on how to carry out a limited number of drill types (substitution, pattern, and so on). That approach to language teaching was designed by linguists based on their particular theoretical assumptions about language acquisition, but it was not necessary for teachers to have any deep understanding of the theory behind the method, as is suggested, for example, by the frequent use of native speaker drill leaders without professional preparation. Effective teaching in ALM, then, is just a matter of skills acquisition. On the other hand, it is more difficult to define effective teaching within a proficiency orientation because teachers are not limited in the techniques they employ to achieve the desired outcome. Omaggio's (1985) hypotheses and corollaries refer to "promoting active communicative interaction among students," "creative language practice," use of "authentic language . . . whenever possible," a "concern for the development of linguistic accuracy," attention to affective needs, and "cultural understanding," for example. To realize these goals, teachers must be able to assess their students' progress (that is, recognize their levels of proficiency) and devise techniques and activities based on that assessment. While the literature is replete with suggestions from experienced teachers as to the best means to implement the goals of proficiency, theory offers no prescribed way to do so.

Moreover, the communicative focus implicit in the development of proficiency requires that the classroom be student-centered rather than teacher-centered, in contrast to grammar-translation (the "default" method for teaching language in the absence of any formal approach) or to ALM, for example. Teachers with little professional preparation find it difficult to devise and structure activities and manipulate interactions in the classroom in a way that places the focus of language practice on students.

In short, the characteristics of a proficiency orientation as outlined in the preceding two paragraphs create particular challenges for novice teachers because there is no empirically prescribed way to achieve the goal of proficiency. The evaluation form itself fills a gap for these teachers; it serves as a teaching device that specifies which behaviors contribute to effective teaching in the proficiency-oriented classroom in addition to its roles in (peer) evaluation of teachers and even lesson planning. The discussion session with peer supervisors in this component, then, should be centered on the evaluation form.

Writing the Narrative and Evaluative Comments

Acheson and Gall (1987) and others emphasize the importance of a narrative that records objective data for use in a feedback or follow-up conference with teachers after the classroom visit. The evaluation form we use includes a narrative of two parts: an objective chronological log of what occurred in the classroom (that is, the observer's reproduction of what the lesson plan must have been) and a column of subjective comments on those activities.

The objective data on what happened in the classroom serve as a common point of departure for observer and observed for the eventual discussion of evaluative comments. For example, TAs might erroneously believe that they have conducted appropriately timed warm-ups at the beginning of class; reference to the supervisor's log can provide the exact sequence of events and how long each took. In this type of narrative the sentences should be as objective and nonevaluative as possible—for example, instead of writing "Students are bored," the supervisor could note that "Students are yawning and writing letters." If in reconstructing the class the supervisor mixes observations with judgments, the TA is apt to become defensive and will find it more difficult to reach conclusions about the effectiveness of the lesson. Objective narrative accounts of class visits, of course, will differ according to the personal style of the supervisors. Some will write sentences with direct quotes, while others will write more succinct notes. The most important factor is the accuracy and objectivity of the account.

In addition to the objective narrative, but separately, the authors recommend that supervisors note subjective evaluative comments that refer to the actual activities and behaviors exhibited by the teacher and students. From these activity- or behavior-specific notes, the supervisor can synthesize a summary of general areas to discuss in the debriefing session. Record both the TA's strengths and the areas that need improvement. Many new instructors find it difficult to discuss their strong points, so the supervisor's notes should be able to furnish examples of positive behaviors.

Since observation reports are often evaluation instruments that become part of a TA's file, the supervisor should exercise caution in what comments actually appear on the page. Some supervisors limit their negative comments to those areas that rank high in the priority of remediation, because a page full of negative comments in every area would certainly discourage and possibly overwhelm a new teacher. Also, most universities require that the TA and the supervisor both sign the evaluation form to indicate that the debriefing has taken place. The TA's signature does not necessarily indicate agreement with the supervisor's assessment, however; in cases of disagreement the TA should be allowed to include a written statement of objections in the evaluation file.

Observation and Debriefing, 1

After familiarizing supervisors with the observation instruments and setting up the classroom visit, the professional development model suggested in this chapter provides new peer supervisors with an example of how an observation and debriefing are carried out. It is not possible for a faculty member and several TA supervisors to observe unobtrusively an actual class. The use of a video segment of classroom teaching overcomes this pragmatic limitation and also offers other advantages.[4] First, it ensures that the peer supervisors do indeed recognize effective teaching and allows them to practice their new role in a realistic manner. Second, it establishes a certain interobserver reliability among peer supervisors, who all use the same footage for observation practice, and reinforces common goals of the language program. A well-chosen tape contains a class of a similar level, approach, and content (language versus literature) to the ones to be supervised; moreover, the footage should contain a variety of appropriate and inappropriate behaviors both on the part of the instructor and on the part of the students that will serve as the basis for later discussion.

The session leader should prepare ahead of time a segment of actual classroom video that will be shown to the workshop participants; this preparation should include selection of classroom footage that will be pedagogically useful as a demonstration for the participants, and completion of the narrative and evaluative portions of the evaluation form based on the performance of the teacher on the tape.[4] The session leader shows the classroom footage to the new supervisors and then reveals the comments made on the evaluation form either by means of handouts or overhead transparency. The leader and an accomplice then perform a role play of a debriefing session, with the leader taking the role of a peer supervisor and the other actor that of the teacher whose class was just viewed on tape (or vice versa). This simulated debriefing shows the workshop participants by example some of the ways in which the comments in the observer's notes are translated into a constructive follow-up visit. Ideally, the role play should be rehearsed before the workshop so that both the "peer supervisor" and the "teacher" can model debriefing behaviors and bring up issues or problems that will provide the basis for discussion in the next phase of debriefing.

Debriefing Pointers

Classroom observation is basically a data-finding mission. The real benefits of the observation process come from the debriefing session, in which supervisor and teacher together contribute to the interpretation and synthesis of the data gathered in the classroom. In this collaborative process the participants should ideally arrive at some conclusions about the teachers' performance and articulate specific strategies for improvement. This component provides participants with specific techniques for translating the comments on the evaluation form into a follow-up in order to maximize the effectiveness of the debriefing session. The role play of a debriefing can serve as an organizer for the group discussion in this component; the program director leads a discussion on the role play and elicits comments on appropriateness of style, thoroughness of comments, and extent of suggestions for remediation.

The debriefing is best scheduled as soon as possible after the classroom visit while the class at issue is still fresh in the minds of the participants (preferably within 24 hours), and it should take place in a quiet area where supervisor and TA will not be interrupted.

One of the most difficult parts of the debriefing for supervisors is knowing how to begin. The first step might be to reconstruct the class using the objective narrative described above. Again, this narrative should be an uncontroversial point of departure for further discussion. The TA should have the opportunity to provide additional information based, for example, on knowledge of the particular students involved in interactions noted by the supervisor.

For most supervisors, after the reconstruction of the class, the next steps are to analyze and interpret the data, and then to draw conclusions, with the supervisor and the TA both contributing to the process. Although many supervisors begin by asking the TA's impression of how class went, the TA may hesitate to give an honest answer for fear of appearing overconfident. On the other hand, the TA may be reluctant to answer negatively for fear that the supervisor will agree. Some possibilities for opening might be to ask more neutral questions, such as "Which aspect of the data would you like to discuss first?" or "Would you like to have been a student in today's class?" or "Would you teach today's class differently the next time?"

During the discussion both supervisor and TA should contribute their ideas. The extent of the mutual exchange will depend on the personality and the level of experience of the TA. A TA may be shy during the first meeting: it may take time for trust to develop so that he or she feels free to present his or her ideas. Or if the TA has had little experience in the classroom and is only taking his or her first course in methodology, he or she may not have many insights to contribute. In any case, the TA should be encouraged to think about alternative objectives and teaching strategies and how to implement them in future classes.

The supervisor should try to close the meeting on a positive note by summarizing and reviewing several areas for improvement prior to the next supervisory visit, then praising the strong points noted during the most recent visit.

Observation and Debriefing, 2

After the new peer supervisors have had a chance to discuss the first role play, the faculty supervisor exposes them to another video segment of a language class. This time the new peer supervisors have to watch carefully and take down their own notes, using the evaluation form, which they will use in another role play based on the new video segment. Again, it will be necessary to provide a second actor to carry out the role play. If the faculty member takes the role of the teacher, it will be easy to introduce complications into the situation in order to try the new peer supervisor's skills at debriefing, albeit in a nonthreatening setting. If the second actor is another new peer supervisor, the exercise has the benefit of forcing that peer supervisor to view the debriefing from the perspective of the teacher whose class was observed. In either case, peer supervisors find this to be a very productive exercise, even if at first they are not experienced or at ease performing a role play.

Remediation Techniques

Although many peer supervisors have had extensive experience in teaching within the language program, they may not have had extensive background in foreign language teaching methodology. They may indeed recognize effective teaching but may not be able to provide assistance to the TA whose class somehow falls short of its goal. We propose that faculty supervisors make available to peer supervisors a bank of reference materials that will help them to give concrete suggestions to teachers in the debriefing session. Appendix 3 contains a sample selection ("Interaction") of one such resource that conforms to the goals of our respective language programs. This section is one part of the materials developed in conjunction with the evaluation instrument in Appendixes 1 and 2; it offers suggestions that correspond to each of the items on the evaluation form. We also have envisioned an interactive computer tutorial that contains the same type of suggestions. In addition to providing comments and discussion during the debriefing session, the peer supervisor can send a teacher to the computer tutorial to do more follow-up on specific strategies for improving problematic areas.

Conclusion

Observation and debriefing play an integral part in the preparation of novice teachers. In large multisectioned language programs the director alone cannot effectively carry out this daunting task, and consequently the quality of teacher preparation may suffer. In practice, directors have had to rely on the talents of specific individuals, the peer supervisors, who more often than not lack background in supervisory techniques. In this chapter, we have elaborated a model for preparing peer supervisors that can help to alleviate the burden of observation placed on directors of large language programs. Just as a methodology class and a practicum prepare novice TAs for their responsibilities as teachers, this model provides peer supervisors with at least a minimum of formal preparation, giving them a number of necessary skills that they need to carry out their jobs successfully.

Of course, the model presented here is only a skeleton that can be modified to suit the needs of individual language programs. The exact form of the workshop will be dictated by the expertise of the director and his or her rapport with supervisors. We have implemented the model described here in our language programs with positive results: on the one hand, TAs receive regular, valuable feedback on their teaching, and on the other hand, peer supervisors face the task of observation and debriefing with confidence rather than dread.

Notes

1. We would like to acknowledge many helpful comments from H. Jay Siskin and an anonymous referee for this volume. Errors are, of course, the responsibility of the authors.
2. While lecturers are technically not peers of TAs, we use the term "peer supervisor" in a manner that subsumes types of supervisors who have no formal training in supervisory techniques.
3. See Appendix 1 and Appendix 2. The visual format for the first page (narrative) of this form (Appendix 1) was taken from a University of Texas document. The second page of evaluative categories (Appendix 2) was developed by the authors.
4. Of course, faculty supervisors should obtain written permission from teachers before showing footage of their classroom performance to others.

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Appendix 1

Sample Observation Narrative

Classroom Visit Observation Form

Teacher: *A. R.*	Time/Date: *10:30 A.M.*
Observer: *R. D.*	Class: *Spanish 103*

Time:	What happened? (Objective)	Comments (Subjective)
10:30	*¿verdad o falso?* questions using "*lo* + adj."	you should do more examples! maybe have students invent some of their own
10:35	activity on handout: Ss make sentences with "*lo* + adj."	good follow-up to previous activity; good modeling of activity; maybe do two or three examples if they are slow starters; good choral reps of cues
	follow-up of student responses: S: *"lo bueno de tener dinero es que puedocomprar sombreros"* T: "*OK, muy bien*"	vary responses; maybe ask other Ss if they agree with a S's opinion; give other follow-up feedback/input: "Ah, Brent, *¿te gustan mucho los sombreros? ¿Tienes una colección muy grande?*"
10:45	personal questions: "*¿Qué es lo bueno de trabajar?*"	good open-ended extension of previous activity; good transition

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10:47	new vocab presentation • choral repetitions • personal questions w/ vocab	good contextualization in questions but contextualize S's answers too: don't parrot their verb forms
	T: "*Has preparado un curriculum?*" S: *"Sí, tengo un curriculum"*	You seemed to ignore her response and started to discuss the tense of her answer; the focus here is on using new vocab, which she did correctly, no?
10:55	definition activity: in pairs Ss make up definitions of new vocab items and partners have to guess which corresponds	good circumlocution practice; have you modeled definitions before for them?
11:03	follow-up: check definitions	
11:07	"lecture": contrast of *pedir/preguntar*	how could you have gotten *them* to arrive at the correct generalization without a long explanation? Note that *you* had trouble putting it into words in Spanish; how can they do it?
	personal questions with *pedir/preguntar*	a big leap for them—too hard; plus you weren't paying attention to *what* they were saying
11:13	mechanical *pedir/preguntar* activity on hand-out	this should have preceded personal questions—actually this could have been used as your presentation!
11:18	assignment for tomorrow	what about a closure activity?

General Comments

+ comfortable atmosphere—nice!
+ excellent pace of activities; good plan—you were right on the mark!
+ good integration of follow-ups and extensions of activities; good transitions
- vary your responses to student answers; you usually just say *"OK, muy bien"*; pay more attention to the content of student answers, diverting attention to form only in form-centered activities
- remember: presentation in context—mechanical/meaningful practice—open-ended activities; avoid lengthy grammar explanations

Appendix 2

Evaluation Checklist

	Comments	N/A
Preparation		
Written lesson plan		
Variety of activities		
Planning for instructional sequence		
Contextualization/personalization of material		
Followed curriculum		
Use of materials		
Use of audio-visuals		
Use of board		
Use of text		
Implementation of plan		
Warm-up		
Overview at beginning		
Appropriate level		
Clarity of directions/explanations/assignments		
Application/practice of material presented		
Efficient use of time/pace		
Monitoring of group work		
Follow-up of group work		
Logical sequencing		
Transitions		
Closure		
Interaction		
Encourages use of target language (S-T, S-S)		

Appropriate error correction

Positive feedback to students

Ratio of T-S speaking

T-S rapport

Encourages participation

Moves around the room

Eye contact with students

Body language

Avoids distracting mannerisms

Enthusiasm

Recognition of lack of S understanding

Ability to answer questions

Shows cultural sensitivity

Teacher language

Appropriate level

Grammatical accuracy

Pronunciation and intonation

Appropriate use of target language and English

Speaks clearly and audibly

Professionalism

Punctuality (beginning and end)

Appearance

Confidence

Maintains authority and professional distance

Appendix 3

Sample Reference material for Peer Supervisors (from Davis and Turner, 1992)

Interaction

Encourages Use of Target Language (T-S and S-S)

From the first day of class, students should learn basic phrases in the target language for classroom business ("How do you say . . . ?," "Slow down, please," "Do we have to . . . ?," etc.). You should always insist that students use the culturally acceptable level of politeness in these expressions (e.g., the simple command "Repeat!" is not polite in any European language). Do not comply with a student request that is not presented in the target language if you know that the request is among those the student should be responsible for; make the student rephrase it.

Tell students early on that important information (assignments, test dates, etc.) will be given in the target language only. If they do not understand, they must be responsible for asking you for repetition, rephrasing, or explanation outside of class. Do not send the message that the target is for games and activities only and that English is the medium for important information.

Group work monitoring is a good time to send the message that students must use Spanish when they can. You can insist on target language usage in a one-to-one interaction, where a student would be less embarrassed than in the whole class setting.

Do Appropriate Error Correction

Visit other classes recommended to you by your supervisor and pay close attention to the various strategies available for guiding students when they make errors.

Reconsider your own attitude towards the various predictable errors that students invariably make in your language. Do you have pet peeves? Does your verbal reaction or body language reaction to student errors intimidate or belittle students? Remember that errors may be lexical or sociolinguistic (register) and not only mistakes in grammar.

Listen carefully to what students are saying. During a given exercise concentrate on one or two points that you want to evaluate, and ignore other, less relevant errors.

Develop skill in helping students learn from errors. After a class is over you can reflect on the different ways you could have handled a student error interaction. You can often guide a student to produce a correct form.

Give Positive Feedback to Students (see "Error Correction" above)

Listen to what students say, not just for accurate forms. Build a response to what they say. Prepare some possible responses ahead of time; don't limit yourself to "very good," "excellent," "perfect," etc. Remember that native speakers would never use these phrases to acknowledge the answer to "Did you go to the movies last night?"

Reward risk taking and creativity. Even if a student makes errors, react positively (verbally and with body language) to an attempt to express a sophisticated thought, higher order thinking, or manipulation of an advanced form.

Learn to tolerate silence. Sometimes a student's silence means "I'm processing information" and not "I don't know the answer."

Ratio of T-S Speaking

Make sure that you plan enough activities that emphasize student production.

Keep presentations to a minimum. If you find yourself in front of the room giving a speech or describing a map or picture in detail while students sit passively for too long, something is wrong!

Insist that students read up on grammar points, for example, the night before your presentation so that you can spend class time on activities that make them practice the points. This can be done by assigning the reading and limited exercises that require the students to have read the lesson. Pop quizzes are also effective in getting students to prepare lessons; however, they can be seen as an intimidation tactic and thus undermine your efforts to build a good rapport with the class.

T-S Rapport

Arrive in the classroom five minutes early and chat with students in the target language. Avoid starting class abruptly right when the bell rings.

Schedule your office hours on different days during the week and at different times of the day.

Try to find out why students do not come to your office hours.

Require students to come by your office early in the term (to pick up an assignment, for example) so that they will know where you can be reached.

Use student information cards (filled out on the first day of class) to learn personal details about students; include this information in your personalization of activities.

Let your sense of humor show. Tell a joke every now and again.

Facilitate S-S Interaction

Include small group and pair activities in your plan that are purposeful and require students to communicate information in the target language. A verb drill, for example, is not an appropriate pair activity in this sense.

Ask questions that make students responsible for the work they were supposed to have done in groups.

Make students responsible for their classmates' personal information, likes and dislikes, extracurricular activities, etc., by repersonalizing the information that comes out of group activities. For example, you respond to a student Mike, "So, Mike, you like to ski?" Later in the class when skiing is again the topic, ask other students, " Who was it who likes to ski?" [Mike].

Make students learn each other's names and use them from the first day of class.

Encourage Participation

Allow adequate time after asking a question before you go to another student for the answer. Count four or five full seconds (one Mississippi two Mississippi . . . to yourself if need be. Sometimes a student's silence means "I'm processing information" and not "I don't know the answer."

Ask questions of varying degrees of difficulty so that all students can participate, i.e., do not limit participation to just the "good" students.

Scan the entire room when you ask for volunteers, making eye contact with individuals.

Vary activities from full class to small groups/pairs so that shy students will have a situation in which they can speak comfortably.

Remind students explicitly that it is their active participation that ensures success in learning a language. If participation figures into the class grade, periodically in the term offer a preliminary participation grade so that students will know where they stand.

Move Around the Room

Make sure that you do not stand in the same one or two places in the classroom (e.g., near the board for explanations, near the front row during activities). It is a good idea to change your position in the room often, without making students dizzy, of course. This technique reduces student boredom.

Maintain Eye Contact with Students

Start out at the beginning of the class by consciously choosing four or five random students in different parts of the room with whom you will make eye contact during a given presentation. During the presentation concentrate on just those faces, letting your eyes roam from one to the next. The next day choose different faces. The goal is to speak to the group with the same personality and interest as you would with one interlocutor.

Try to find the right number of seconds to look at each person: too short a glance makes you come across as nervous, and too long a stare is interpreted as confrontational and intimidating.

Scan the entire room when you ask for volunteers, making eye contact with individuals.

Body Language

Set the proper tone for the class with body language. Crossed arms can communicate hostility, mistrust, or nervousness. Too relaxed a posture can undermine your authority, slow the pace, and suggest boredom on your part.

Arrange to have your class videotaped. Study your own body language when you correct student errors or react to responses, when you solicit volunteers, etc.

Avoids Distracting Mannerisms

Arrange to have your class videotaped so that you can pick up on mannerisms that are distracting. Physical tics include twisting on your mustache, pushing up your sleeves, hair twisting, playing with chalk or pens, etc. Common verbal tics are "um," "OK," "Let's see," etc., and target language equivalents. Students love to spend a class counting repetitions of tics instead of paying attention to the lesson.

Enthusiasm

Everybody has bad days now and again, but teachers are professionals, and personal problems should be left outside the classroom.

Motivate students to learn by communicating your own interests in the target language and culture.

Show students that you are happy to be teaching your language: maintain an upbeat tone, use enthusiastic gestures, etc.

Provide Individual Attention to Students

Strike a balance between meeting an individual's needs in the classroom and maintaining the attention of the entire class. If you find that answering one student's question, for example, is taking too long or is not beneficial to others, tell the student that you can see him/her after class or during office hours.

Consciously practice sweeping the room visually to check for raised hands or other signs of student incomprehension or lack of "withitness."

Recognize of Lack of Student Understanding (see "Error Correction," Above)

Repeat a student's question out loud for the entire class. First, this helps everyone to follow the discussion, and more importantly, the student can check to see if you really understand what is being asked. Thus, you avoid wasting time and patience answering the wrong question.

Avoid asking "Are there any questions?" Students are often silent after this question, and their silence does not mean that they understand everything. Use instead specific check questions that actually test comprehension or whether or not students can manipulate the structures or vocabulary.

Ability to Answer Questions

Make sure you have studied a grammar point, reading, etc., ahead of time so that you will be prepared to answer questions.

Ask other teachers to help you anticipate questions; many of them are predictable, and experienced teachers can clue you into problems before they arise.

Prepare a set response or two to questions that you cannot answer. It is all right to put students off every now and then with an "I don't know," but you should find out the answer by the next day. If you use "I don't know" too often, your authority and credibility will be eroded.

Show Cultural Sensitivity (Race, Gender, Orientation, etc.)

Racist, sexist, homophobic, etc., remarks are not acceptable. Even if you do not "celebrate diversity," your job is to facilitate language acquisition, and this type of insensitivity can undermine your success.

Stress Cultural Similarities in Addition to Highlighting Differences

Issues and Perspectives on When TAs Supervise TAs

James F. Lee, University of Illinois
Donna Deans Binkowski and Alex Binkowski
Kansas State University

The personnel involved in language programs in large research institutions typically include upward of 65 graduate teaching assistants (TAs) but only one faculty member.[1] The courses involved number at least four, and oftentimes more if a department has addressed the issue of false beginners, tracking for majors and minors, and/or alternative basic language courses (for example, Spanish for medical purposes). The professional survival of the faculty member involved was the driving force behind creating a system of peer supervision at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign in the Department of Spanish, Italian, and Portuguese.[2] The department had experienced sufficient turnover in the director position to take stock of the shortcomings of the position and to take appropriate remedial steps. Taking stock led to creation of a hierarchical system of peer supervision under the guidance and direction of a faculty member—all because it is professionally questionable whether a single faculty member can observe 65 to 80 TAs, coordinate four to eight midterm and final exams, and be solely responsible for such a large percentage of a department's instruction.[3]

The following paragraph appears in the departmental brochure to describe programs and faculty. The brochure is used to recruit new graduate students.

> The department is proud of its comprehensive program of pre-service and in-service instructor education, supervision, and professional counseling for all teaching assistants. Since the future professional experience of most graduates lies in teaching, a well-grounded preparation in theory and practice of teaching is regarded by the department as an essential component of the graduate career. While teaching is not a Graduate College requirement, the department strongly encourages and requires all doctoral candidates to have some teaching experience. The teaching activities of graduate students are integrated into the M.A. and Ph.D. degrees and are professionally supervised by the Director of Basic Language Instruction.

The various components of the above mentioned comprehensive program and their delivery are the result of the vision of the director of basic language instruction (DBLI). Their continued existence and successful implementation depend on the work of the course supervisors and the assistants to the director.

Other than helping to ensure the professional survival of the director, peer supervision offers the department its best opportunity for training a future professoriate. Peer supervision, on the one hand, offers individual TAs many and varied opportunities for gaining professional experience, and, on the other hand, places those same individuals in situations of potential conflict.

We explore in this chapter three perspectives concerning issues associated with TAs supervising TAs: 1) the department's, as related by the DBLI; 2) the negative side, as related by a former but long-time course supervisor and assistant to the DBLI; and 3) the positive side, as related by another former but long-time course supervisor and assistant to the DBLI who is now a language program director in her own right.

We first provide a brief review of the literature on peer supervision, primarily pointing to the literature's neglect of the topic of ongoing supervision and evaluation. We then provide an overview of the Spanish language program at the University of Illinois, both in terms of courses and personnel involved, since these vary from institution to institution. Subsequently, we address four issues concerning peer supervision: 1) division of labor; 2) hiring practices; 3) the nature of leadership roles; and 4) the dynamics of curriculum development. We present these issues in the form of questions:

1. What do supervisors do? or, what does the DBLI not do?
2. Why are senior TAs not hired as supervisors?
3. Why do supervisors have so few friends among the other TAs? Does it matter?

4. Why does the sequence of language courses undergo so many changes from semester to semester?

Finally, we conclude with recommendations for minimizing the potential negatives in a system of peer supervision.

Review of the Scholarship

Nyquist (1991), in a collection of some 56 papers presented at the second National Conference on TA Training and Employment, noted that the majority of TA training programs described in the presentation consist of infrequent workshops with limited or no follow-up. The model of TA training that has emerged for foreign language departments, however, is somewhat different. After reviewing a substantial number of articles, spanning a 30-year time frame, Fox (1992: p. 191) points toward "the emergence of a widely accepted model of a preservice workshop followed up by an in-service methods course." Indeed, descriptions of such programs are numerous in the literature (among others, DiDonato, 1983; Donahue, 1980; Ervin, 1981; Lambert & Tice, 1993; Lee, 1987, 1989; Muyskens, 1984; Nerenz, Herron & Knop, 1979 ; Pons, 1987; Schulz, 1980). A smaller part of the literature calls for greater TA involvement in the training process. In particular, peer mentoring is specifically called for as a means to create: 1) a desire for improvement; 2) an awareness of areas in which to improve; and 3) a support system for improving certain areas (see, for example, Azevedo, 1990; Barnett, 1983; Pons, 1987).[4] Peer mentoring may be incorporated into a methods course or may be an activity in which the TAs voluntarily participate, but as a process it does not call for one TA to supervise another, that is, for one to evaluate the other. Thus even a combination of the accepted model, as Fox (1992) terms it, with peer mentoring fails to address an issue at the forefront of discussions of TA training: ongoing supervision and evaluation. The discussion concerns not only the institution's responsibility to offer quality undergraduate instruction, but also the department's responsibility to adequately prepare a future professoriate.[5]

Typically, departments have approached ongoing supervision and evaluation as part of a faculty–student relationship. But other approaches to supervision are possible, such as peer supervision, a system in which TAs supervise other TAs (Lee, 1987, 1989; Lee & VanPatten, 1991). We report in this chapter on some of the advantages and disadvantages of a system of peer supervision, a system that addresses both the institution's and the department's responsibilities. Since the model itself has been described elsewhere (Lee, 1987, 1989), the current work is best viewed as a progress report of our experiences with peer supervision, adopting both departmental and peer supervisor perspectives. We view peer supervision as a viable way to address ongoing TA evaluation, supervision, and training, but we recognize that the peer supervisor may be placed in situations of conflict, situations that will be described in subsequent sections.

Overview of the Language Program: Courses and Personnel

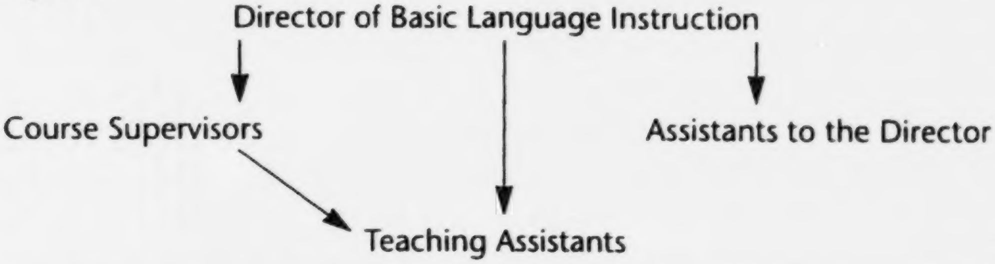
Courses

The Spanish language program consists of a four-semester sequence of courses: 101 and 102, in the first year, and 123 and 124 in the second year. These four courses are designed to fulfill the language requirement in the College of Liberal Arts and Sciences. The program also includes three other courses: 122, 103, and 104. Spanish 122 is a response to the fact that 90% of all students placing into first-year Spanish have completed two years of high school Spanish. They are what are usually referred to as "false beginners." Rather than placing them in 101 with true beginners, we have created an intensive, review-oriented course that covers all the material of the first year of Spanish in one semester. Spanish 103 and 104 are second-year courses. Whereas 123 and 124 are designed simply to fulfill the language requirement, 103 and 104 are designed for people who want to continue their study of Spanish as a major or minor.[6] This language program is large. Indeed, over 1,666 students were enrolled in these courses in the fall semester for 1992, and the courses required 65 TAs to teach them.

Personnel

The program is administered through a hierarchical organization of personnel, schematized as follows.

Figure 1


Director of Basic Language Instruction
Course Supervisors
Assistants to the Director
Teaching Assistants

Only the director is a faculty member; no other faculty are involved in either the teaching or the administration of the language program. All assistants and supervisors are graduate students. The TAs, of course, are also graduate students. The assistants have duties that do not bring them into direct contact with their peers, the other TAs. Their duties do, however, bring them into contact with the undergraduate students enrolled in the courses. Although the assistants are an integral part of the operation of the language program, we will not examine their function in this chapter. We focus only on issues concerning peer supervision.

What Do Supervisors Do? Or, What Does the Director of Basic Language Instruction Not Do?

Departmental Perspective

The hand-picked staff of six course supervisors is responsible for the *daily* operation of the instructional program. One person supervises both Spanish 101 and 102; one person supervises both Spanish 103 and 104. One person is assigned to each of the other courses: 122, 123, 124, and 210. Each of these six people is occupied with language program duties an average of five to six hours per week. Multiply each individual's hourly work load by six (the number of supervisors) and the result is a combined total of thirty to thirty-six hours per week! It is abundantly evident that one person cannot design, implement, and administer a language program. Course supervisors are not volunteers: they are compensated for their work. All TAs teach three courses per year; the supervisors also teach three courses per year but are paid as if they were teaching four courses as compensation for two semesters of supervision. (Differences between the regular TA and the supervisor will be stressed in the other perspectives presented below.)

One way to conceive of the supervisors is as an *extension* of the director, who conceptualizes the language program—i.e., the kind of teaching or the method, the kind of materials or text selection, the kinds and frequency of exams, and the policies (for example, regarding absenteeism, late work, and so on). Course supervisors implement the program: they prepare the syllabus based on the materials selected, including how many days of class time should be spent per chapter, what homework is assigned, and so on. The two most important duties of the supervisors are exam preparation and class observations: they oversee and coordinate the preparation of the exams the director has outlined for them, and they observe other TAs using criteria the director has established.[7]

Supervisors *must* be allowed to observe other TAs. With 65 TAs, no one faculty member can possibly spend an hour observing and then at least a half hour in a follow-up interview with each TA. There is not enough time. As a result of having supervisors observe classes, the department can claim that every TA is observed every semester.

As extensions of the DBLI, supervisors should not be left to their own devices to conduct observations and follow-up interviews. They must be taught how to do so by the director. Supervisors have an observation form to fill out, a standard one prepared by the DBLI and used for all TA-taught classes. After the observation, a supervisor makes a list of points for discussion, in order of importance, that should be touched upon during the interview. The supervisor is instructed to allow the TA to talk first during the follow-up interview. Supervisors have three questions to use in order to get the TA to talk: Was this class typical? What did you like best about the class? What did you like least? Hopefully, the TA will touch upon the points listed. Finally, the supervisor ends the interview by making two or three concrete suggestions to the TA to improve instruction.

Supervisors have the greatest amount of direct contact with the TAs. They conduct almost all the meetings with them; hold the organizational meeting at the beginning of each semester in which they distribute course materials and explain the syllabus, policies, and procedures; and hold meetings with TA exam committees to discuss program issues such as uniform grading criteria or oral exam procedures. Finally, supervisors participate in the preservice orientation program.[8]

The influence of the DBLI is pervasive in the program, but actual implementation depends on the supervisors.

Drawbacks

Supervisors work while other TAs are on vacation. A supervisor's responsibilities actually begin the semester before becoming a supervisor. Work for the next semester begins while completing the current one. One has to meet with the DBLI to discuss any changes for the course, for example, regarding materials, grading, or procedures, and then prepare the syllabus before leaving for the summer. Syllabus preparation is never just a matter of changing the dates from spring to fall semester; there are *always* changes in policy or procedure.

In theory, the supervisors' workload is five to six hours a week, but this hourly distribution is merely an average. In reality, in some weeks only two hours are spent on supervisory duties, in others 10 or more hours are needed to meet deadlines or carry out other responsibilities. Since supervisors participate in new TA orientation, which begins the week before registration, they must return to campus a week before regular TAs.

Without organizational skills, in particular, efficient time management skills, a supervisor's semester can go from bad to worse. For example, in managing the preparation of the midterm or final exam, a supervisor must stick to a well-planned schedule for creating the various drafts and revisions. The DBLI places a premium on high-quality exams completed by a specified date and time. Being the one in charge of delivering the exam to the director, the supervisor must pick up the slack for the exam committee; that is, a supervisor must be willing to put in those extra hours to get the job done right and on time.

As extensions of the DBLI, supervisors must enforce departmental policies. Supervisors cannot bend policy, much less ignore it. When a TA does not follow policy, a supervisor can find himself or herself caught between the conflicting demands of duty and friendship. Moreover, when a TA does not follow policy, students from sections other than that TA's seem to know about it. The supervisor, who is also a teacher, is often questioned by his or her students regarding his or her strict adherence to policy.

Positives

Perhaps the greatest positive point in favor of accepting a peer supervisory position is the practical experience to be gained from participating in curriculum development. The group of TAs that any supervisor will deal with directly varies significantly with the course, so that a supervisor must learn to lead diverse groups of people. For Spanish 122, for example, the supervisor may be responsible for fifteen TAs teaching twenty sections, whereas for Spanish 102 the supervisor himself or herself may be teaching the two sections offered. Such diverse circumstances demand different communication skills, and supervisors must learn to be articulate in the area of language program direction. For example, supervisors are always asked "Why?": Why is the syllabus set up as it is? Why are the exam sections due to the director a month before the exam is scheduled to be given? Why are the formats on the quiz the ones that they are? Why isn't X tested? In short, the supervisory position allows for tremendous professional development.

Why Are Senior TAs Not Hired as Supervisors?

Departmental Perspective

The issue underlying the question of who gets hired is the purpose of having supervisors. For whom do they work? They work for the department, in the abstract, but in practice they work for the DBLI. The DBLI, therefore, should hire those individuals who demonstrate some combination of five qualities: 1) an understanding of the goals and objectives of the language program; 2) leadership abilities; 3) organizational skills; 4) interpersonal skills; and 5) a commitment to quality instruction. The student's field of study and degree program are irrelevant on these counts.[9] In other words, these criteria are blind as to whether the applicant is an MA or a PhD candidate, or whether the applicant is majoring in applied linguistics or any other field in the department. The reality of the national job market is that a faculty member in literature may be teaching language courses and may be supervising a course as part of his or her regular responsibilities.[10]

The decision of who to hire is the DBLI's alone. In some departments elsewhere in the United States, the chair selects the staff or at least makes the selection from candidates suggested by the director. We believe that if the faculty member can be entrusted with the responsibilities of language program direction, then that faculty member can be trusted to make intelligent decisions regarding staff. In the abstract, the supervisors help the department run efficiently and help ensure a certain level of quality in the course offerings. In the concrete, they perform functions similar to those of research assistants to the DBLI. Their duties in the language program free the director from many quotidian tasks so that he or she has more time to engage in research and writing activities. Would a department chair select a research assistant for another faculty member? Should a department chair select the supervisory staff for the DBLI?

All TAs should be given an equal opportunity to work as supervisors. A mechanism should exist to encourage individuals to come forth and apply for the positions. The following sample announcement offers a good model for program advertisement:

> All those interested in applying for the position of course supervisor are asked to make an appointment to see me in the next two weeks. You'll be asked why you want to be a supervisor ("The money" is an unacceptable response). Come prepared with ideas for changing the program.
> Note: I do not discriminate on the basis of race, creed, color, sexual ori-

> entation, gender, academic preparation, and a host of others. You can be straight or gay; native or nonnative speaker; in applied linguistics, literature, or linguistics; white, black, brown, yellow, purple, tan, or green. The successful applicant will have: 1) a demonstrated understanding of the goals and objectives of the language program; 2) leadership abilities; 3) organizational skills; 4) interpersonal skills; and 5) a demonstrable commitment to quality instruction.

Such an announcement demonstrates that the positions are competitive and that anyone can apply. The demographics of the supervisory staff from the academic years 1991–92 and 1992–93 are shown in Table 1. These individuals represent an eclectic group of people who share organizational and interpersonal skills as well as an understanding of the program, leadership abilities, and a demonstrable commitment to quality instruction.

Table 1

Demographics of the Supervisory Staffs

	Academic Year 1991–92	Academic Year 1992–93
Gender	3 male, 3 female	1 male, 5 female
Race	1 black, 5 whites	1 black, 5 whites
Creed	unknown	unknown
Language	2NS, 4 NNS	4 NS, 2 NNS
Field	2 MAs in literature, 1 MAT PhD, 3 PhDs in applied linguistics	1 PhD in literature; 1 PhD in linguistics 4 PhDs in applied linguistics
Orientation	5 straights, 1 gay	5 straights, 1 gay
Other	1 smoker, 5 nonsmokers	2 smokers, 4 nonsmokers

Drawbacks

The most difficult aspect of being a supervisor is overseeing peers. Supervisors critique peers' work, whether an examination section or classroom teaching. Supervisors often cease to be perceived as a member of the "team" once they become the team's "captain." When faced with criticism, no matter how diplomatically the supervisor acts or how warranted his or her complaints, some TAs take offense. Rather than accept criticism from a peer, some TAs will attempt to balance the power dynamic by putting the supervisor on the defensive.[11] The five qualifications for the job notwithstanding, many supervisors feel that the TAs they supervise are just as qualified as they are to do the job. Yet in the final analysis, supervisors have the position and the supervisory responsibilities, and individual TAs do not.

Positives

The supervisory experience is designed to be one of learning as well as leading. The opportunity to assume a leadership role in a structured, tutored, mentored setting provides invaluable experience. Supervisors are leaders but they are not the ones ultimately responsible for the program. A supervisor can make mistakes or step on toes, with the security of knowing that the director is there to help. Also, it is no secret that some TAs would prefer not to have someone of their own educational level supervise them and therefore might be less cooperative than other TAs. Knowing this to be the case helps supervisors adopt appropriate interaction strategies to handle that TA. Not only does a supervisor learn about course development and language instruction, but also about how to deal with people.[12]

Why Do Supervisors Have So Few Friends Among the Other TAs? Does It Matter?

Departmental Perspective

Anyone in a position of authority will have to exercise that authority. People do not like to be told what to do but the language program is just that: a program. Individual instructors must operate within the confines of the goals and objectives of the program. Conflicts do not need to be sought out, nor do they need to be avoided. Conflicts can be faced as a natural part of interactions. (The departmental perspective is pragmatic.)

Drawbacks

Various problems have arisen because peers supervise peers. Supervisors are themselves graduate students in the department, as well as TAs. Their natural social group consists of the other graduate students and TAs in the department. TAs and supervisors take classes together, work on class projects, and socialize in the same circles. At times, some TAs have not taken the supervisor's authority seriously. At other times, some TAs have attempted to take advantage of their friendship with the supervisor. The supervisor can be cast in a negative light, as a tattletale or teacher's pet, for exercising his or her responsibility. Social and psychological distance between TAs and supervisors can characterize the resulting dynamic.

The one incident that almost inevitably leads to distance between supervisors and their peers has to do with exam preparation. Supervisors coordinate the writing and collation of exam sections, which they then must present to the director by a certain date. Invariably at least one TA does not turn in an exam section on time. Invariably at least one TA turns in an exam section that requires major revision. Both events cause the supervisor more work. Either the supervisor returns the work for revision and hopes it is done well and on time, or simply rewrites it him or herself. From the supervisor's perspective, this individual TA is seemingly rewarded for not doing his or her fair share because the supervisor, in the end, will assume responsibility for completing the work.

Positives

Supervisors contribute greatly to the working environment in the department, the goal being a cooperative working community of instructors. Since supervisors participate in orientation, they can influence new TAs early on. New TAs, and veteran TAs too, for that matter, do seem more comfortable approaching a peer than they do approaching a faculty member. A question asked of a supervisor might seem reasonable whereas the same question asked of the director might seem foolish. (A professor can be intimidating just by virtue of being a professor.) Most supervisors establish a good working relationship with their groups even if certain individuals stand out. Most TAs realize that peer observations, although potentially problematic, can be less intimidating than being observed by the director.

Why Does the Sequence of Language Courses Undergo So Many Changes Semester to Semester?

Departmental Perspective

Nothing is worse than curricular stagnation. New research into the nature of classroom language learning emerges quarterly. New textbooks reach the market every year. New ideas for teaching are abundant at language conferences. The curriculum ought to change, to evolve, as a result of all these influences. The sequence of language courses described in this chapter evolves on a regular basis not only due to new research, new books, and new ideas, but in large part due to the fact there is a labor force in place that can see those changes through.

Drawbacks

Although supervisors are compensated for their work, they have more responsibilities to juggle than do regular TAs. Supervisors work on the syllabus for the next semester while the current one is in progress. As stated above, it seems that very little of a syllabus carries over from one semester to the next. The courses evolve and change because there is a labor force paid to focus attention and energy on making those changes. The labor force, however, is torn between the responsibilities of being a student and those of being a supervisor.

Since supervisors have the most direct contact with TAs, they serve as messengers. While new policies and procedures come from the director, the supervisor relays them to the TAs. Some TAs confuse the messenger with the message.[13] Supervisors do not necessarily agree with all policies, procedures, and practices, but they must enforce them.

Positives

In addition to the unique interactions that are possible between peers, supervisors are in a unique position to interact with the DBLI. The DBLI does mentor the supervisors. While all final decisions do rest with the director, the supervisors are consulted about important issues. Supervisors express their ideas for course development, policy changes, and so on. The DBLI listens, questions, and accepts or rejects the idea. In the latter case, the supervisor is given an explanation for the rejection. As a by-product of the relationship, supervisors gain insights into the responsibilities, concerns, and pressures of a *faculty* member. After serving as a supervisor, the mystery of what it means to be a faculty member is not so mysterious. Another result of the relationship is the insight into language program direction the supervisor gains. No matter the supervisor's field of study, he or she walks away from the experience with a healthy respect for language program direction.

Conclusion

Peer supervision offers language departments their best opportunity for preparing a future professoriate. The system will provide individual TAs many and varied opportunities for gaining professional experience even though it may place those same individuals in situations of potential conflict. We have provided three perspectives on four issues: 1) the division of labor between supervisors and director; 2) hiring practices (who is hired as well as who does the hiring); 3) the natural conflicts inherent in assuming a leadership role; and 4) the dynamics of curriculum development. In presenting both positive and negative perspectives, we hope to have underscored the positive so that we are counted among the proponents of peer supervision.

There should be no doubt in the minds of the TAs, supervisors, and the department faculty that the DBLI controls the program. A good DBLI will then insulate and protect the supervisors from as many conflicts as possible. To that end, we offer the following recommendations:

1. No matter how talented the individual, his or her term as supervisor should be limited to a maximum of three years.
2. Supervisors need an orientation about how to be a supervisor. Two points to lead off a discussion of supervision are: (a) what are the three characteristics of the best course supervisor who has ever supervised you?; and (b) what are the three characteristics of the worst course supervisor who has ever supervised you?
3. Supervisors need training sessions on how to carry out specific responsibilities. As extensions of the director, they must carry out observations, for example, according to an established procedure. Evaluating a videotape of a class session as a group is one procedure to utilize.
4. Limit the supervisors' tasks to eliminate known sources of conflict. No supervisor should issue a bad evaluation of another TA's teaching. If a supervisor observes a bad class, no evaluation should be written and submitted to the director. Rather, the TA should be given the option of being observed by the supervisor a second time or of being observed by the director. In the end, only the DBLI should issue a truly negative evaluation.

These recommendations serve as guidelines for enacting a system of peer supervision. When TAs supervise TAs, everyone benefits. The department has a system for ensuring quality instruction. The DBLI has a labor force to ensure his or her professional survival. The TAs are not abandoned as instructors. And finally, the supervisors gain invaluable experience.

Notes

1. The ideas included in this chapter began as a presentation at the third National Conference on TA Training, held in Austin, Texas, in November 1991. A subsequent version of that work was presented at the ACTFL annual meeting held in Chicago in November 1992, and forms the basis of the present work. We would like to acknowledge the very generous support of the dean of the College of Liberal Arts and Sciences and the Department of Spanish, Italian and Portuguese at the University of Illinois for making the Austin presentation possible. We would also like to acknowledge the Pew Grants awarded to the second and third authors in connection with the Austin conference.
2. The issues of language program direction and course supervision espoused in this chapter also apply at midsize institutions where faculty, in addition to TAs, teach the courses. In particular, lack of coordination of efforts across sections and conflicts based on differing ideologies are not uncommon in institutions of all sizes.
3. Even a cursory examination of the number of sections of courses offered in a language department will reveal that much, if not most, of the department's instruction is language instruction.
4. Peer mentoring is discussed more in the literature on high school teachers. See, for example, Willerman (1991).
5. Many scholars are beginning to advocate advanced methods and professional development courses for graduate curricula to address long-term TA development (see, for example, Barnett & Cooks, 1992; Lalande, 1991). Yet such courses do not address the immediate needs of the language program in which the TA is teaching.
6. Additionally, one other course came under the domain of the DBLI from fall semester 1990 through spring 1993: Spanish 210 is a fifth-semester grammar course, a prerequisite for all courses in the major and minor sequence.
7. The observation evaluation criteria in the Department of Spanish, Italian, and Portuguese purposefully does not contain any reference to the language proficiency of the TA. The department has the responsibility of verifying that the instructional staff is proficient in the language. The potential conflict that could arise from having TAs judge other TAs' language skills is too great to have such an assessment included as part of a class observation. That the observation form con-

tains no such reference is in keeping with the recommendations offered at the conclusion of this chapter.

8. Supervisors were not always part of the orientation, yet it seemed appropriate to include them for two reasons. First, many supervisors have gone on to other universities as directors, thus assuming the responsibility for offering their own TA orientation. For their own professional development, they began to be included in orientation. Second, the supervisors were needed to keep the new TAs working on task. Being new to the town and to the university, new TAs would very often focus on the difficulties of their transition to Urbana-Champaign rather than issues of language instruction. Not only do supervisors keep new TAs on task, they are available during breaks and lunch to provide answers to noninstructional questions.
9. At some institutions, supervisorships are seen as rewards for excellence in scholarship and a way to help doctoral candidates have more time to carry out their research. Being a supervisor, however, is a job and not a reward for academic excellence. Also, some take the position that if a student studies applied linguistics, then he or she should be hired as supervisors. Applied linguistics, however, is an academic discipline of study that assumes knowledge of that field on the part of the student but does not automatically entail leadership abilities, interpersonal skills, or organizational abilities.
10. In fact, the job description for the University of Texas at Austin that appeared in the October 1992 *MLA Job List* explicitly stated that junior faculty engage in course supervision, no matter what their field of expertise.
11. "I've taught longer than you have" and "You don't even have an M.A. and you're criticizing me" are familiar refrains from TAs who are sensitive to criticism. For some, the supervisorship is their first position of authority, and they must learn not only to use their authority but also what to do when that authority is questioned.
12. In discussing this chapter with the lead author, Kim Jansma of the University of California at Los Angeles described another approach to supervisor selection that might alleviate some potential negatives. She selects a slate of candidates with whom she is willing to work and then presents the slate to the TAs for their vote. Those who supervise are those who gather the most votes. That system functions well as long as the candidates are truly capable people. The system might not work in

the case of an individual in whom the DBLI sees potential and whom the DBLI is willing to mentor through the process.

13. For example, the DBLI decreed that the grading procedures in the grammar course Spanish 210 would be all or nothing. That is, an answer was correct only if it was 100% correct, down to the accent mark; no partial credit would be awarded. This innovation was not popular with the students, TAs, or supervisors, but met with unanimous approval among the Spanish faculty. Yet like all policies, it had to be adhered to uniformly across all sections of the course.

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Attitudes of Teaching Assistants and Students Toward the Exclusive Use of the Target Language in Beginning French Classes

Flore Zéphir, University of Missouri
Marie-Magdeleine Chirol, University of Missouri

The authors of the present study work with an elementary French language program involving approximately 12 to 14 teaching assistants (TAs) from widely varying backgrounds.[1] One of the authors is the director of the program, and the other is the methodologist who teaches the methods course required of all TAs. Both authors subscribe to the principles of the communicative approach (Wilkins, 1976; Littlewood, 1981; Finocchiaro & Brumfit, 1983; Savignon & Berns, 1984; Rivers, 1987).[2] They emphasize the communicative and functional potential of language and believe that the goal of language teaching, even at the elementary level, is to develop what Hymes (1972) referred to as "communicative competence."[3] In addition, they also believe that high-quality use of the target language in the foreign language classroom is very important since they are convinced that the amount of exposure to the target language ultimately determines the level of acquisition. Therefore, they advocate the maximum exposure possible in classroom situations through the exclusive use of the target language.[4]

In designing a foreign language syllabus for use in colleges, universities, and, especially, large institutions such as the one chosen for this study, as suggested by Menges (1986), one must take into account "the implicit theories of teaching" held by the TAs who assume the bulk of instruction in beginning language classes. This notion becomes particularly critical with respect to the focal question of the exclusive use of the target language. At present the French language program at the University of Missouri's Columbia campus is attempting to put into practice the exclusive use of the target language by all TAs in beginning French. In trying to implement this practice, it became important for the authors to know how the TAs felt about this issue since, without their full cooperation, the success of our program would be compromised. Furthermore, we saw the need to question the students themselves because, ultimately, if they were not convinced of the effectiveness of this approach, they would not put in the work and effort necessary to nurture language learning. In other words, we felt that this survey of TA and student attitudes regarding the learning material was crucial to the dynamics of instruction and to moving in the direction in which we wanted to take the French language program.[5]

The present study is designed to pinpoint both the reactions and the attitudes of TAs and students toward the exclusive use of the target language in beginning levels of French. At this early stage of the implementation of our communicative French language program, our primary objective is to determine the general attitudes of TAs and students concerning the exclusive use of the target language rather than presenting conclusive evidence in support of the method itself.

Study Design

The 10 TAs who participated in our study taught first-semester French.[6] They included Americans (60%), native francophones (20%),and members of other cultural groups (20%). In the sample, 70% had had previous teaching experience; 30% had had none. The 300 students who responded to our survey were all first-semester French students.[7] For the most part, they were American students with minimal or no knowledge of French, enrolled in French 1 in order to fulfill the university foreign language requirements.

Instrumentation

Data for our study were collected by means of two different written questionnaires administered to TAs and students at the beginning of the fall semester in 1991 in order to tap preconceived attitudes before experiencing instruction in the target language and to give us some idea for enhancing the success of the program. (See Appendix 1 and Appendix 2 for copies of the questionaires.)

Teaching Assistants Questionnaire

At the end of a two-day orientation workshop that took place before the start of the fall semester, a questionnaire was distributed to all 10 TAs who were to teach first-semester French classes. TAs were specifically told not to provide their names in order to ensure candor in the responses. They were also informed that their responses would bear no consequences in terms of evaluation of their teaching performance. The questionnaire contains three major sets of questions. The first set deals with what we term *psychological/practical considerations.* These reflect the beliefs and convictions of the instructor regarding the effectiveness of the exclusive use of the target language. Some questions pertain to language choice (target versus native) and to the amount of language use (again, target versus native) by the instructor in the classroom. Furthermore, several items in this first series of questions aim at identifying possible advantages for the use of the target language with respect to specific criteria, including student motivation and interest; specific skills; content of instruction (grammar, vocabulary, culture, and so forth); and number of mistakes made by students. The second set of questions addresses what we call *linguistic considerations.* These have to do with the instructor's judgment of his or her own linguistic competence in the target language irrespective of his or her beliefs about the effectiveness of its exclusive use. The third set of items groups what we refer to as *extrinsic considerations.* These cover some of the factors that can lead TAs to "accept" a particular method based not on personal convictions, but on material grounds such as renewal of teaching contract or positive evaluation by the course supervisor.

Student Questionnaire

A different questionnaire was distributed by instructors to all 14 sections of first-semester French. Anonymous responses were requested from the students. The student questionnaire probes two major concerns: students' own language preference for classroom instruction and their thoughts regarding possible advantages associated with instruction in the target language. In addition, the questionnaire included some language background items such as number of other languages studied and length of study, as well as prior exposure to instruction in the target language. The authors hypothesized that a correlation could exist between prior language experience and present language attitudes.

Results

The data presented below summarizes the responses of TAs and students to the two questionnaires.

Teaching Assistant Repsonses

Psychological-Practical Considerations

Our data suggest that these considerations appear to be the most important ones. They may be subdivided into three categories of questions, each of which is directed toward more specific items. In the first subgroup, items pertaining to the general convictions and beliefs about the effectiveness of teaching in the target language are discussed. The data reveal that 40% of the TAs believe that the class should or could be conducted in the target language 100% of the time. The second subgroup lists items regarding the teacher's personal practice in the classroom with reference to the use of the target language. Paradoxically, when the question of language choice is posed, the data show that 70% of the TAs are convinced that the exclusive use of the target language yields the best results. Furthermore, 30% of them are certain that their students would react favorably to this language choice. When considering the reasons why TAs would be hesitant to use the target language exclusively, responses to the pertinent questions indicate that 40% are not completely certain of the efficiency of the proposed method. Moreover, 70% thought that their students would feel lost and be frustrated.

Finally, this subgroup also included items pertaining to specific times during a class period when it is appropriate or even preferable to use French exclusively. The data yield interesting results: 100% of the TAs share the conviction that the warm-up should be conducted solely in French; 50% state that new material as well as instructors' answers to students' questions ought to be offered in French; and, finally, 30% indicate that directions for an exercise or an activity could also be given in the target language (see Table 1).

Table 1

Personal Practice in the Classroom

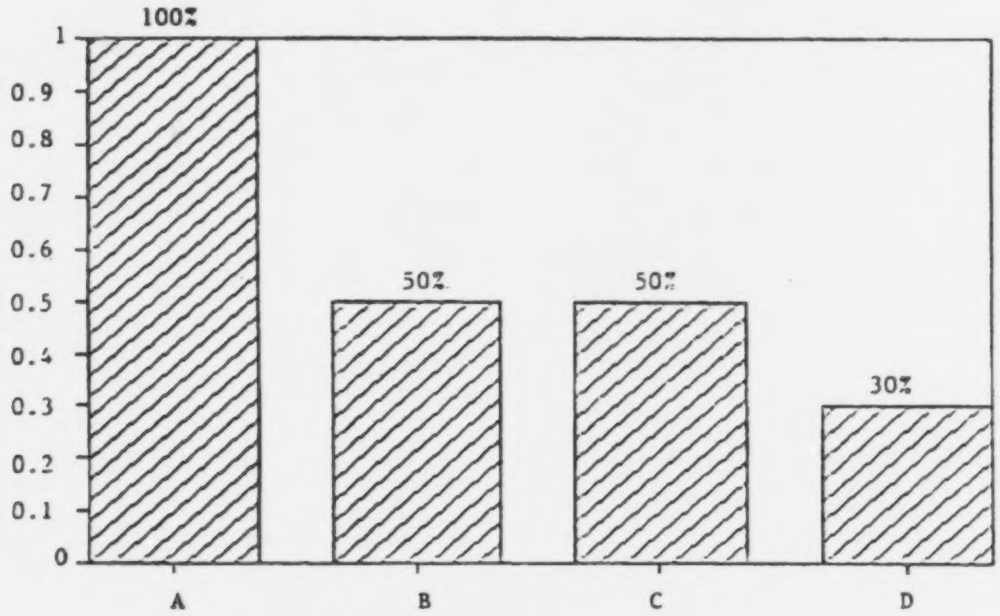
Explanation of Codes Used: (The number in parentheses refers to specific question numbers in the TA questionnaire in Appendix 1)

A = Warm-up (4.1)

B = New material (4.2)

C = Instructors' answers to students' questions (4.5)

D = Directions for an exercise or activity (4.3)



The third and last subgroup of questions comprises items regarding possible advantages for the students (as perceived by TAs) of the exclusive use of the target language. Here again, we have taken the liberty of altering the order in which the questions were given in order to place each item on a numerical scale ranging from the highest to the lowest percentage. The perceived advantages for the students are: 1) better pronunciation—100% of the TAs believe that student pronunciation would improve; 2) motivation—90% of TAs think that student motivation would be enhanced; 3) interest in the language, retention of the new material, ability to speak and understand better, acquisition of a wider range of vocabulary, willingness to take another course in French—advantages identified by 70% of the TAs; 4) liveliness of the course, reduction of anxiety, appreciation of francophone culture—60% percent of the TAs think that their course would be more lively and that students would be less uncomfortable with the language, and that they would appreciate francophone culture better; 5) ability to read better, reduce the number of mistakes—50% of the TAs believe that students would read better and would make fewer errors; 6) ability to write better and improve grammar acquisition—40% of TAs indicate that students would write and understand grammar better; and 7) reduction of difficulties—30% of TAs believe that students would learn with less difficulty. Overall the questionnaire revealed TAs are receptive to using the target language. Indeed, they have identified many advantages, and have indicated instances, in the context of their own classroom situation, where French is the most appropriate language to enhance students' learning (see Table 2).[8]

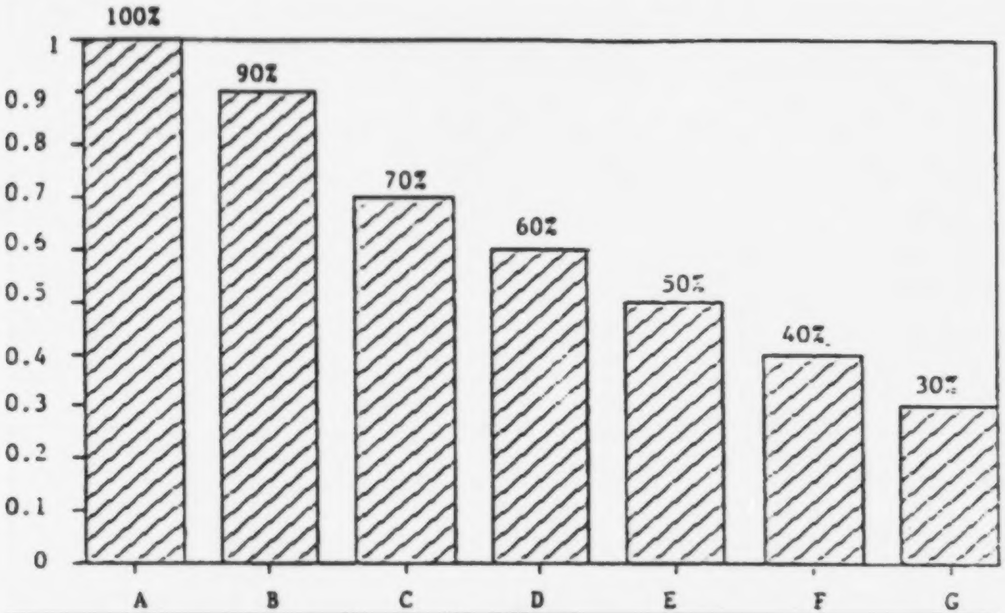
Table 2

TA Perceptions of Possible Advantages for Students

Explanation of Codes Used: (The number in parentheses refers to specific question numbers in the TAs' questionnaire in Appendix 1)

A = Better pronunciation (5.14)
B = Motivation (5.2)
C = Interest in the language (5.4)
    Retention of new material (5.6)
    Ability to speak and understand better (5.7, 5.8)
    Acquisition of more vocabulary (5.11)
    Willingness to take another course in French (5.15)
D = Liveliness of the course (5.1)
    Reduction of anxiety (5.3)
    Appreciation of francophone culture (5.16)
E = Ability to read better (5.10)
    Reduction of mistakes (5.13)
F = Ability to write better (5.9)
    Grammar acquisition (5.12)
G = Reduction of difficulties (5.4)

Table 2 (cont.)



Linguistic Considerations.

This section of the questionnaire was intended to determine whether a certain preference or hesitancy to use the target language is contingent upon linguistic factors. For those expressing a preference for target language use, as well as for those who had ambivalent feelings on this matter, language choice did not seem to be contingent upon language competency. In other words, French/francophone TAs did not choose French as a means of instruction because of their lack of competency in English. Similarly, American/anglophone TAs did not choose English because of their lack of competency in French. Indeed, 90% of the respondents (including the American TAs) did not seek to avoid French because of their accent, and 70% did not seek to avoid French because they are afraid of making mistakes. However, 80% admit that they express themselves in French with ease and 70% recognize that the use of French in the classroom gives them the opportunity to practice the language. As can be seen, these linguistic considerations bear minimal significance in their language choice for classroom instruction.

Extrinsic Considerations

These considerations were also addressed, for they may influence language choice on the part of TAs. While 80% of the TAs intend to use French exclusively because their supervisor compels them to do so, only 10% believe their contract might not be renewed for those same reasons. Similar to the linguistic considerations, these extrinsic factors do not seem to play a significant role in this issue.

Student Responses

A different questionnaire was administered to the students. However, some of the questions address similar issues as those presented in the TAs' questionnaire. Students' answers may be divided into two sets. The first set of items deals with students' preference with respect to language use. The data show that 80% of the students exhibit a preference for classroom instruction in both French and English. However, when more specific contexts for a particular language use were probed, responses varied a great deal. For the sake of clarity, each item is presented in numerical order ranging from the highest to the lowest percentage: 11% of the students prefer directions for an exercise or an activity to be given in French; 8.6% would like new material to be presented in French; 8% want their questions to be answered in French; 7.3% would welcome grammar explanations in French; and 7% expressed a preference for asking questions in French. The second set of items, dealing with the possible advantages of the exclusive use of the target language, may be divided into three subcategories. The first addresses the general student reaction to the use of the target language in their classroom. The results are as follows: 33.3% of the students would react favorably to being taught exclusively in French; 46.6% admit that class would be more interesting and enjoyable; 30.9% state that they would not be frustrated or lost. The second subcategory deals with any possible gain, from a linguistic point of view, when taking a course totally taught in the target language. Generally speaking, 53.9 % of the students believe that they would learn much more with such a method. More specifically, 60% are convinced that the exclusive use of French in the classroom will enhance their comprehension and speaking abilities; 49.9% would not be afraid of speaking the language; 49.3% believe this would stimulate their interest in the French language and culture; 47.2% feel that this would help them read and write better; and 28.9% claim they would make fewer mistakes. The last subcategory, dealing with more practical considerations, reveals that 38.3% of the students believe the course would not be too hard; 31.9% anticipate their chance of getting a better grade would increase; 28.9% think that their interest in taking other French courses would go up; and 10.3% believe that they would have a definite chance of passing the course. Overall, the student responses were not as negative as the authors had anticipated before conducting the study, especially with regard to possible linguistic gains.[9] For ease of interpretation and clarity, these gains are placed in Table 3.

Table 3

Linguistic Gains

Explanation of Codes Used: (The number in parentheses refers to specific question numbers in students' questionnaire in Appendix 2)

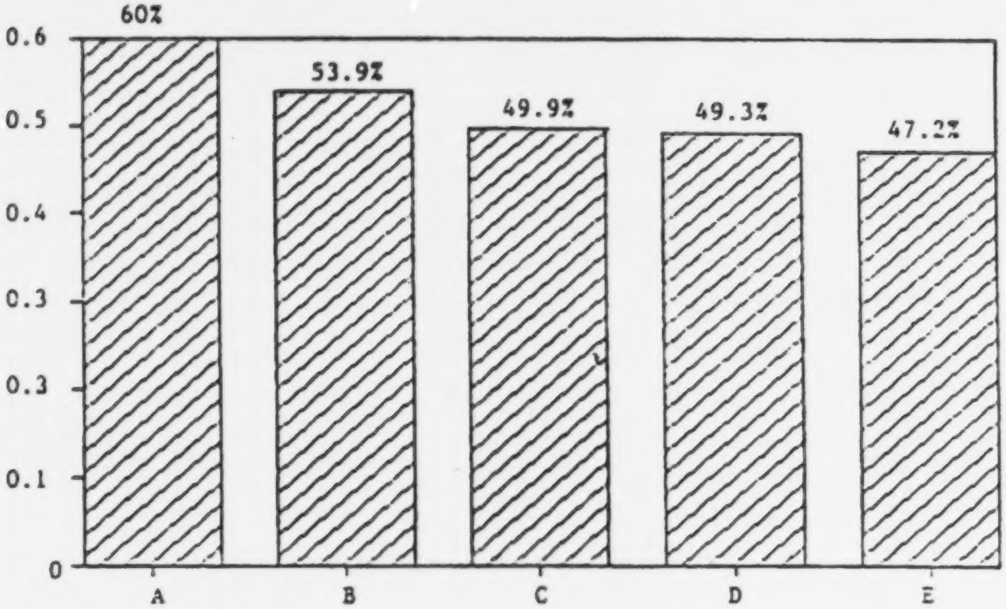
A = Speaking and comprehension abilities (2.2)

B = Increase in amount of learning (2.1)

C = Less anxiety regarding speaking the language (2.3)

D = More interest in French language and culture (2.5)

E = Writing and reading abilities (2.4)



Discussion and Interpretation

Having presented the data, we now offer a comparative analysis of the two sets of responses, those of the TAs and those of the students. The data reveal striking parallels. The most salient similarities between the two groups can be found with regard to the perceived advantages of instruction in the target language. Although the percentages are not identical for both groups, a somewhat similar pattern can be drawn from their answers (see Table 4).

Table 4

Possible Advantages with Exclusive Use of French

Explanation of Codes Used:

A = Speaking and comprehension abilities
B = Reduction of fear
C = Appreciation of francophone culture
D = Ability to read better
E = Ability to write better
F = Liveliness of course
G = Fewer mistakes

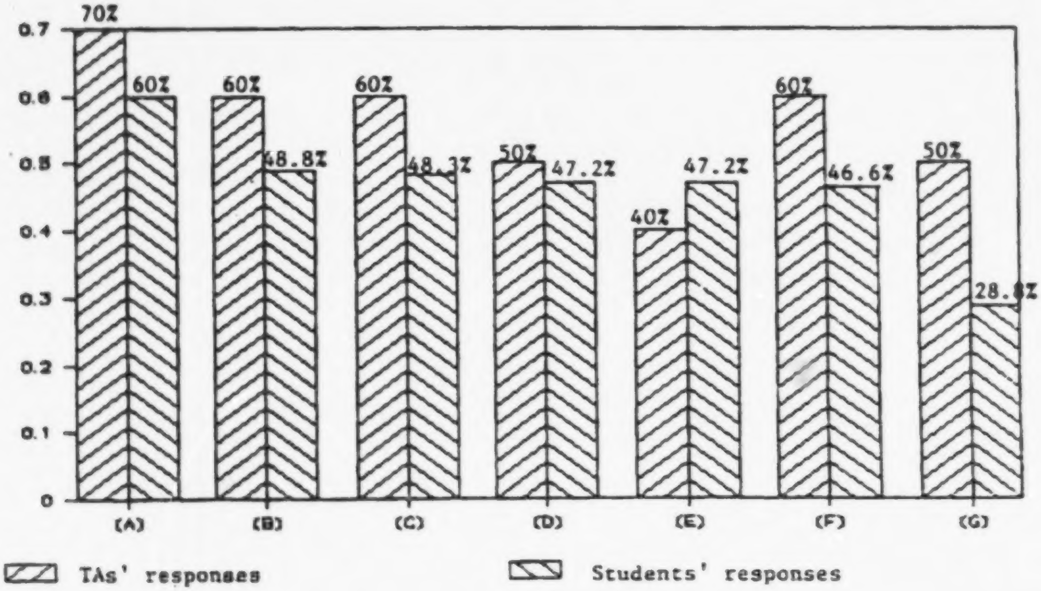


Table 4 shows a certain homogeneity in the attitudes of both groups, certainly an encouraging sign for the implementation of our communicative French language program. Moreover, it underscores a certain hierarchy in the placement of these advantages, which clearly favors speaking and

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comprehension abilities. This finding comes as no surprise, since the exclusive use of the target language is often linked to communicative activities which are undoubtedly one of the major tasks of a language teacher. However, this positive response in favor of communication seems to relegate the so-called more difficult components of language teaching (grammar, writing, reading) to a lesser rank. Communicative activities tend to stimulate more students to participate and make for a livelier course as also indicated by the table. In addition, Table 4 shows that the ratio between students' and TAs' responses is constant throughout the curve for the different advantages perceived by both groups (that is, around 10%) with the exception of the categories "Ability to read better" and "Ability to write better," where in the first case the ratio drops to 2.8% (due to a decline in the figures given by the TAs), and in the second the students' percentage surpasses that of the TAs (47.2% versus 40%). Generally speaking, reading and writing tend to be perceived by teachers as being the most difficult skills to teach. This claim seems to be substantiated by the drop in percentage recorded in the table. TAs in our study who are aware of the communicative goals of our program prefer to teach reading and writing skills in English, leaving French to "communicative" endeavors, perceived as easier. Indeed, 50% favor English for teaching reading and 60% for teaching writing. An explanation for this finding may lie in the fact that reading and writing are viewed as interactive skills that require close interaction between thought and language. On the one hand, effective readers engage in a "psycholinguistic guessing game" in which they select the fewest, most productive cues in order to make predictions about the meaning of the text (Omaggio, 1986: p. 97). On the other hand, good writers need to provide clearer and more complete information, and to use structural features (grammar, syntax) more accurately because of the lack of external contextual cues that are present in face-to-face interactions (Omaggio, 1986: p. 222). Therefore, the complexity of reading and writing skills requires a series of preactivities that some teachers prefer to do in English, especially if they are intended to be "skill-getting" as opposed to "skill-using" activities.[10] However, for the student population, of which we recall 80% preferred instruction in both French and English, we were surprised to note that 47.2% were in favor of being taught both reading and writing skills in the target language. Clearly, students do not always manifest the negative attitudes toward the target language attributed to them by their teachers. Indeed, these findings reveal a much more positive attitude on the part of students toward instruction in the target language than teachers would assume.

Conclusion

Our study shows that although the majority of the participants in the student sample did not want to exclude the native language (English) in their foreign language classes, a fair number of them nevertheless recognized, beyond our expectations, the advantages and gains of target language instruction. Contrary to our assumption, prior language experience did not seem to influence present language attitudes. With regard to the TAs, the study shows that they are not opposed to our approach; indeed, they see numerous advantages in it. The fact that linguistic and extrinsic considerations had no bearing on this issue allows us to claim that TAs' willingness to use the target language seems rooted in their own convictions and beliefs in the effectiveness of such a method. Psychological/practical considerations are unequivocally the most relevant factors underscored by the present study. The ambivalence manifested in certain cases could be attributed in part to concerns that TAs ascribe, sometimes erroneously, to their students. Our study clearly suggests that some of these concerns are often more fictional than real.

The implications of our study are numerous. First, our investigation fills a gap in empirical studies of attitudes concerning the exclusive use of the target language; second, it could lead instructors to consider the direct method in light of its advantages; third, those who have mixed feelings about students' reactions can find answers to their concerns and accordingly modify their own teaching behavior with respect to language choice for classroom instruction; and fourth, our study implies that certain preconceived notions may be an obstacle to the success of a teaching method. In this particular study, we witness several "myths" that can block teaching effectiveness. For instance, with respect to "communication," it seems that the term is associated primarily with speaking and rarely with writing. This assumption would mean that writing is not a form of communication, which is, of course, false and patently absurd. Hence, one of the tasks of a language program director would be to correct this impression. TAs could be guided to see that writing is a communicative task, and that it can also be practiced in French.

We hope that these findings shed new light on communicative language teaching and that they will spur additional research. Indeed, our results need reduplication in order to verify and substantiate them. A subsequent study should reexamine the TAs and the students after they have experienced this method for more than one semester in order to see if there are any changes in their attitudes. Additionally, other comparative studies should be done. For example, it could be relevant to compare results in students' achievement when the target language is used or not used in the classroom. Further research might also compare these data for college French to data for other levels and for other languages.

Notes

1. We are indebted to our colleague Daniel Scroggins for his tireless assistance with the drawing of the tables.
2. In the early 1970s the work of the Council of Europe and a group of British applied linguists provided the basis for the notional-functional syllabus, which gave prominence to what became known as the communicative approach to language teaching. These British applied linguists include H. Widdowson (1972), M. A. K. Halliday (1973), C. N. Candlin (1976), C. J. Brumfit and K. Johnson (1979), and J. Van Ek and L. G. Alexander (1980). The best reference for these works is Richards and Rodgers (1991).
3. The notion of communicative competence has also been advanced by Savignon (1971, 1983).
4. The exclusive use of the target language to teach foreign languages is by no means a new idea. It was advocated in the 19th century by Gouin and continued to be used by Sauveur. Their efforts led to the development of the direct method (Berlitz, 1907; Sauzé, 1959). For a more detailed discussion on the subject, see Omaggio (1986), Richards and Rodgers (1991), and Grittner (1990).
5. Searches of the most recent issues (1987–93) of the *Modern Language Journal, Foreign Language Annals,* and the *French Review* did not reveal any published study of student and TA attitudes toward instruction in the target language.
6. The elementary French language program (French 1 and French 2) involves approximately 12–14 TAs, but for this study we limited our sample to those who taught the first semester.
7. Since the questionnaire was administered during the very first week of class, students who registered late during drop and add were not included in the sample. The 300 responses received were from students who were in class the day the questionnaire was distributed. (At the end of the fall semester, the total enrollment in all 14 sections of French 1 was 335.)
8. Generally speaking, instructors tend to think that students would be totally overwhelmed with instruction in the target language. However,

the responses obtained suggest that this so-called aversion is far from absolute. Considering that the study was conducted at the onset of their first semester, it is not unreasonable to assume that students could express more positive feelings about this method throughout subsequent semesters.

9. This perception is also shared by our own TAs.
10. These terms are borrowed from Rivers (1988). "Skill-getting" involves understanding the way the language works; "skill-using" involves the actual use of language for purposeful communication.

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Appendix 1

The questionnaires were presented according to the following format. However, the italic subtitles describing the category in which each question belongs (signified by lowercase letters), have been added to help the reader follow the results presented in the "Results" section of this chapter.

TEACHING ASSISTANTS' QUESTIONNAIRE

A. PHILOSOPHICAL/PSYCHOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS

a. General convictions and beliefs

1. YOU THINK THAT:

    1.1 French could/should be used:

    - a. 100 % of the class time
    - b. 75 % of the class time
    - c. 50 % of the class time
    - d. 25 % of the class time
    - e. less than 25 % of the class time
    - f. gradually through the semester

b. Personal practice in the classroom

2. YOU INTEND TO USE FRENCH IN YOUR CLASS BECAUSE:

    2.1 You are sure that your students would react favorably to it:

    - a. agree
    - b. disagree
    - c. no opinion

2.2 You are convinced that the exclusive use of French gives the best result:
  a. agree
  b. disagree
  c. no opinion

3. YOU DO NOT INTEND TO USE FRENCH EXCLUSIVELY IN YOUR CLASS BECAUSE:

3.1 You are sure students would feel lost and frustrated:
  a. agree
  b. disagree
  c. no opinion

3.2 You are not certain of the efficiency of such a method:
  a. agree
  b. disagree
  c. no opinion

More specifically

4. YOU THINK THAT:

4.1 The warm-up is to be conducted:
  a. in French only
  b. in English only
  c. in French and in English

4.2 The new material is to be presented/explained:
  a. in French only
  b. in English only
  c. in French and in English

4.3 Directions for an exercise or an activity are to be given:
  a. in French only
  b. in English only
  c. in French and in English

4.4 Students should ask questions:
  a. in French only
  b. in English only
  c. in French and in English

4.5 Answers to students are to be given:
  a. in French only
  b. in English only
  c. in French and in English

c. *Advantages for students*

5. YOU THINK THAT IF YOU TEACH EXCLUSIVELY IN FRENCH:
    - 5.1 Your course will be more lively:
        - a. agree
        - b. disagree
        - c. no opinion
    - 5.2 Students will be more motivated:
        - a. agree
        - b. disagree
        - c. no opinion
    - 5.3 Students will be less scared of French:
        - a. agree
        - b. disagree
        - c. no opinion
    - 5.4 Students will learn with less effort:
        - a. agree
        - b. disagree
        - c. no opinion
    - 5.5 Students will be more interested in the language:
        - a. agree
        - b. disagree
        - c. no opinion
    - 5.6 Students will not forget easily what they learned:
        - a. agree
        - b. disagree
        - c. no opinion
    - 5.7 Students will speak better:
        - a. agree
        - b. disagree
        - c. no opinion
    - 5.8 Students will understand better:
        - a. agree
        - b. disagree
        - c. no opinion

5.9 Students will write better:
- a. agree
- b. disagree
- c. no opinion

5.10 Students will read better:
- a. agree
- b. disagree
- c. no opinion

5.11 Students will have a wider range of vocabulary:
- a. agree
- b. disagree
- c. no opinion

5.12 Students will know the grammar better:
- a. agree
- b. disagree
- c. no opinion

5.13 Students will make fewer mistakes:
- a. agree
- b. disagree
- c. no opinion

5.14 Students will have better pronunciation:
- a. agree
- b. disagree
- c. no opinion

5.15 Students will feel like taking other courses in French:
- a. agree
- b. disagree
- c. no opinion

5.16 Students will better appreciate the francophone culture:
- a. agree
- b. disagree
- c. no opinion

B. LINGUISTIC CONSIDERATIONS

1. YOU INTEND TO USE FRENCH EXCLUSIVELY IN YOUR CLASS BECAUSE:
    - 1.1 You are not fluent enough in English:
        - a. agree
        - b. disagree
        - c. no opinion
    - 1.2 You express yourself in French with ease:
        - a. agree
        - b. disagree
        - c. no opinion
    - 1.3 It gives you the opportunity of practicing your French:
        - a. agree
        - b. disagree
        - c. no opinion

2. YOU DO NOT INTEND TO USE FRENCH EXCLUSIVELY IN YOUR CLASS BECAUSE:
    - 2.1 You have problems in expressing yourself in French:
        - a. agree
        - b. disagree
        - c. no opinion
    - 2.2 Your accent is not good enough:
        - a. agree
        - b. disagree
        - c. no opinion
    - 2.3 You do not know the French grammatical terminology:
        - a. agree
        - b. disagree
        - c. no opinion
    - 2.4 You are afraid of making mistakes:
        - a. agree
        - b. disagree
        - c. no opinion

C. PRACTICAL CONSIDERATIONS

1. YOU INTEND TO USE FRENCH EXCLUSIVELY IN YOUR CLASS BECAUSE:
    - 1.1 Your supervisor compels you to do so:
        - a. agree
        - b. disagree
        - c. no opinion
    - 1.2 If you do not do so, your contract may not be renewed:
        - a. agree
        - b. disagree
        - c. no opinion

2. YOU DO NOT INTEND TO USE FRENCH EXCLUSIVELY IN YOUR CLASS BECAUSE:
    - 2.1 You are not sure of the acceptability of such a method by the supervisor:
        - a. agree
        - b. disagree
        - c. no opinion

Appendix 2

STUDENTS' QUESTIONNAIRE

A. PREFERENCE WITH RESPECT TO LANGUAGE USE

- 1.1 You wish the class were conducted:
    - a. totally in French
    - b. in French and in English
    - c. in English
- 1.2 You wish the new material were presented:
    - a. totally in French
    - b. in French and in English
    - c. in English
- 1.3 You wish you could ask questions:
    - a. totally in French
    - b. in French and in English
    - c. in English

1.4 You wish your teacher answered your questions:
  a. totally in French
  b. in French and in English
  c. in English

1.5 You wish grammar points were explained:
  a. totally in French
  b. in French and in English
  c. in English

1.6 You wish directions for an exercise or an activity were given:
  a. totally in French
  b. in French and in English
  c. in English

B. POSSIBLE ADVANTAGES

a. General reaction

1. YOU THINK THAT IF THE TEACHER SPEAKS FRENCH ALL THE TIME:

1.1 You will like it:
  a. agree
  b. disagree
  c. no opinion

1.2 Class would be more interesting (enjoyable):
  a. agree
  b. disagree
  c. no opinion

1.3 You would be frustrated and lost:
  a. agree
  b. disagree
  c. no opinion

b. Possible gains

2. YOU THINK THAT IF THE TEACHER SPEAKS FRENCH ALL THE TIME:

2.1 You would learn much more:
  a. agree
  b. disagree
  c. no opinion

2.2 Your comprehension and speaking abilities would be enhanced:
   a. agree
   b. disagree
   c. no opinion

2.3 You would not be afraid of speaking the language:
   a. agree
   b. disagree
   c. no opinion

2.4 It would help you read and write better:
   a. agree
   b. disagree
   c. no opinion

2.5 It would stimulate your interest for the French language and culture:
   a. agree
   b. disagree
   c. no opinion

2.6 You would make fewer mistakes:
   a. agree
   b. disagree
   c. no opinion

c. Practical considerations

3. YOU THINK THAT IF THE TEACHER SPEAKS FRENCH ALL THE TIME:

3.1 This would increase your chance of getting a better grade:
   a. agree
   b. disagree
   c. no opinion

3.2 You would be sure to be able to pass the course:
   a. agree
   b. disagree
   c. no opinion

3.3 The course would be too hard:
  a. agree
  b. disagree
  c. no opinion

3.4 This would encourage you to take other French courses:
  a. agree
  b. disagree
  c. no opinion

Contributors

Katherine Arens (PhD, Stanford University) is Professor of German in the Department of Germanic Languages at the University of Texas, Austin. She is coeditor of *Reading for Meaning* (Prentice Hall, 1991) and has published on language acquisition, writing across the curriculum, literacy and text theory, the philosophy of language, and German cultural and intellectual history.

David P. Benseler (PhD, University of Oregon) is the Louis D. Beaumont University Professor of Humanities and Chair, Department of Modern Languages and Literatures, Case Western Reserve University. Editor of the *Modern Language Journal* (1980–93), he has been Distinguished Visiting Professor of Foreign Languages at the United States Military Academy and at New Mexico State University. His publications include numerous books, edited volumes, chapters, and articles, the most recent book being *Teaching German in America: Prolegomena to a History.* A past Fulbright and NDEA fellow, he has been honored by the president of the Federal Republic of Germany (Bundesverdienstkreuz) and the superintendent of the United States Military Academy (Army Commendation Medal for Outstanding Civilian Service).

Alex Binkowski (PhD Candidate, Kansas State University) is Instructor of Spanish and Secondary Education at Kansas State University. Teaching courses in Spanish and language methodologies, he is involved in the preparation of language teachers for the elementary and secondary levels. His research interests include second-language reading and teacher education. He is coauthor of the intermediate Spanish reading textbook *Ideas.*

Donna Deans Binkowski (PhD, University of Illinois) is Assistant Professor of Spanish and Director of the Spanish Basic Language Program at Kansas State University. She supervises the graduate teaching assistants and instructors and teaches courses in foreign language pedagogy, linguistics, and Spanish at various levels. Her reasearch interests include issues in second language acquisition, and teacher education. She is coauthor of *Manual que acompaña ¿Sabias que. . . ? Beginning Spanish.*

Diane W. Birckbichler (PhD, Ohio State University) is Professor of French and Director of the Foreign Language Center at Ohio State University. She is a former president of the American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages and has been associate editor of the *Modern Language Journal* since 1980. She is a former director of undergraduate French at OSU, a position which placed her in charge of training and supervision of TAs and which also made her responsible for curriculum and test development. She has coauthored textbooks for both the secondary and postsecondary levels and is the author of a number of articles on foreign language methodologies.

Marie-Magdeleine Chirol (PhD, University of Maryland) is Assistant Professor of French Language and Literature at the University of Missouri, Columbia campus, where she directs the first year French program and trains and supervises TAs in French. She teaches courses in French language and literature at all levels and is involved with the development of multimedia and interactive French video materials. Her research interests include comparative and twentieth century literature, the novel, francophone film, and foreign language methodologies. She has published in *Revue de Littérature Comparée* and *Letras.*

Kathryn A. Corl (PhD, Ohio State University) is Assistant Professor in the Department of Germanic Languages and Literatures at Ohio State University, where she also serves as Director of Undergraduate Language Instruction in German. Her responsibilities include supervision of German TAs and coordination of basic language courses. She is coauthor of *Sprechen wir Deutsch!* and *Ubergänge: Texte verfasssen.* Her research areas include psycholinguistics, cognitive psychology, and program evaluation.

Jorge Cubillos (PhD, Pennsylvania State University), a native of Colombia, completed his undergraduate studies in the social sciences at the

Universidad Pedagógica Nacional de Bogotá (1985). Under the auspices of the USIA, he completed a dual master's degree in Latin American studies and Literature at Ohio University (1988). The title of his dissertation is "Anxiety in the Spanish Language Classroom: Correlates and Intervention." He is currently Assistant Professor and Sequence Supervisor of Spanish at the University of Delaware.

Robert L. Davis (PhD, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill) is Assistant Professor of Spanish at the University of Oregon and Coordinator of the Spanish Language Program. He teaches courses in Spanish language, Spanish phonetics and phonology, historical linguistics, and teaching methodology. Responsible for the training of new teaching assistants, he is the author of *Tertulia,* an advanced oral skills text in Spanish.

Craig Deville (PhD Candidate, Ohio State University) specializes in measurement, program evaluation, and statistics and research design. He is currently Assistant Director and Testing Specialist in the OSU Foreign Language Center. His responsibilities include coordination of placement testing, data analysis, and research consultation. He has coauthored a number of articles and research reports on testing and measurement.

Leonore Ganschow (EdD, University of Cincinnati) is Professor of Educational Psychology at Miami University, Oxford, Ohio, where she also teaches undergraduate courses in learning disabilities and gifted education. Her research interests are in acquisition and development of literacy skills, oral and written language disabilities, and foreign language learning in at-risk populations. She has published numerous chapters in books and articles in journals. She is currently a member of the National Board of the Orton Dyslexia Society.

Lynn Carbón Gorell (PhD,University of Kansas) is Assistant Professor of Spanish and Director of the undergraduate Spanish language program at the University of Michigan, where she supervises TAs and teaches courses in second language acquisition, appled lingusitics, and teacher education, as well as language courses at various levels. She is coauthor of *De Lector a Excritor* and has published in the areas of reading and writing. Her research interests include foreign language writing as process, the development of computer software for foreign language writing, and learner styles and strategies.

L. Kathy Heilenman (PhD, Indiana University) is Associate Professor of French at the University of Iowa, where she is Language Program Director. She has taught at the middle school and high school levels in addition to her university experience. She has lectured and published in curriculum, textbooks, testing, and second language acquisition. She is coauthor of the first-year French text *Voilà!*.

Charles J. James (PhD, University of Minnesota) is Associate Professor of German and of Curriculum and Instruction at the University of Wisconsin at Madison, where he is coordinator of German TAs, director of the first-year language program, and adviser for secondary education in German. He teaches courses in German at all levels, as well as methods courses, both for undergraduate and graduate students of German. He is a founding member of the AAUSC and served as the organization's first treasurer and first editor of its newsletter. A life member of the AATG, he is also a member of ACTFL and MLA. His research interests include language testing strategies and the educational systems of Germany. He has published articles and reviews in *Foreign Language Annals, Die Unterrichtspraxis, Modern Language Journal* and, *Polylingua.*

James F. Lee (PhD, University of Texas) is Associate Professor of Spanish and Director of Basic Language Instruction in the Department of Spanish, Italian, and Portuguese at the University of Illinois. He publishes extensively in second language reading research, language teaching, and language program direction. He designed the ACT/University of Illinois Spanish Placement Examination, coedited several volumes of research, and coauthored the introductory Spanish textbook *¿Sabías que. . . ?*

Francis Lide (PhD University of Illinois) holds a part-time appointment as Temporary Associate Professor of German in the Department of Humanities at Michigan Technological University. His major research interest is in the foreign language profession at the college level. He is the editor of *Polylingua.* His prior publications include "On Constituting and Institutionalizing a Foreign Language Discipline"; "Faculty Professional Growth in the Small Postsecondary Foreign Language Department"; and "Literature and the Foreign Language Enterprise: A Problematic Relationship." He is coauthor of a study in progress entitled "The Japanese as Linguists: Translingual and Intercultural Communication in a Japanese Computer Assembly Plant in Germany."

Sally Sieloff Magnan (PhD, Indiana University) is Professor of French at the University of Wisconsin at Madison, where she teaches courses in French language and teaching methodologies and supervises teaching assistants. Her primary research interests are foreign language teaching methodologies, error analysis, and proficiency testing. She is the editor of the *Modern Language Journal* and edited the 1990 Northeast Conference Reports, Shifting the Instructional Focus to the Learner. She is coauthor of the introductory French textbook *En Route.*

Cathy Pons (PhD, University of Indiana) is Assistant Professor of French Linguistics in the Department of French and Italian at Indiana University, where she coordinates first-year French courses and TA training. She teaches courses in French language and linguistics and in teaching methodologies. Her research interests include second language acquisition, language attrition, and foreign language teaching methodologies. She is coauthor of the introductory college French textbook *En Route.*

Wilga M. Rivers (PhD, University of Illinois) Professor Emerita of Romance Languages and Literatures at Harvard University, has held faculty appointments at the University of Illinois, Northern Illinois, Monash (Australia), and Columbia University and has also lectured taught throughout the United States, Canada, and in thirty-six other countries. She has published numerous books on the theory and practice of language teaching, drawing insights from psychology and linguistics, with specific books on the teaching of English, French, German, Hebrew, and Spanish as a second or foreign language (a book on teaching Russian is in progress). Her latest books are on teaching languages at the undergraduate level and opportunities for careers in foreign languages. Her books and articles have been translated into ten languages. She is a founding member of the AAUSC, a charter member of ACTFL, and charter president of the American Association of Applied Linguistics. She is a member of the Advisory Board of the National Foreign Language Center.

Richard L. Sparks (EdD, University of Cincinnati) is Associate Professor of Education at the College of Mount St. Joseph in Cincinnati, Ohio, where he teaches undergraduate courses in learning disabilities, reading, diagnostic educational assessment, and testing. He also has a private practice as an educational consultant in which he conducts psychoeducational evaluations. He is the author of numerous publications in foreign language learning and oral and written language learning difficulties. His other research interests are in reading disabilities, the psychology of reading, and cognitive development.

Erwin Tschirner (PhD, University of California, Berkeley) is Assistant Professor of German at the University of Iowa, where he teaches Germanic linguistics and applied linguistics and directs the first- and second-year German programs. He is the coauthor of two two college textbooks *Kontakte: A Communicative Approach* and *Assoziationen: Deutsch für die Mittelstufe*. He is the author of *Aktionalitätsklassen im Neuhochdeutschen* (1991).

Joan F. Turner (PhD, Ohio State University) is Lecturer in Spanish at the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, where she teaches methods courses for TAs and Intensive Spanish. She is a frequent presenter at annual meetings of the American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages, the Central States Conference, the Foreign Language Association of North Carolina, and others. Her research interests include TA training and supervision and learning-disabled foreign language students. She is the coauthor of "Teaching Issues" in the *Instructors Resource Manual to Accompany* Arriba.

Flore Zéphir (PhD, Indiana University) is Assistant Professor of French Language and Linguistics and of Curriculum and Instruction at the University of Missouri, Columbia campus. She is coordinator of the foreign language education program and advisor for the master's program in teaching foreign languages. She teaches French language courses on all levels and graduate courses in methodologies, French linguistics, biligualism, and multiculturalism. She is coeditor of the *Proceedings of the Mid-America Linguistics Conference* (1992).

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